



The Art of Embattailing
A N
A R M Y.
O R,
THE SECOND PART OF
ÆLIANS TACTICKS.

Containing the Practice of the best Generals of all
Antiquitie, concerning the formes of Battailles.

Wherein all Motions requisite to be vsed in a Battaille
both for offence and defence are fully expressed.

Necessary and vsefull for all Martiall Spirits, that
desire to hane knowledge in the Art Military.

Englisched and Illustrated with Figures and Observations
vpon every C H A P T E R.

By Captaine I O H N B I N G H A M.



L O N D O N :
Printed for R A L P H M A B . 1 6 3 1 .



TO THE RIGHT VVOR-
SHIPFUL SIR HVGH HAMERSLY,
Knight, one of the Aldermen and Coronels of the
Honorable City of L O N D O N , and President of the
Martiall Company, Exercising Armes in the Artillery
Garden in L O N D O N .

TO CAPTAINE HENRY VVALLER,
NOW CAPTAINE OF THE
SAID COMPANY.

AND
TO ALL THE REST OF THE
Worthy Captaines and Gentlemen of the
said Company.

Captaine I. B. wifheth such valour and experiance,
as may make them victoriouſe againſt all
ſorts of Enemis.

Worthy Gentlemen:

Here my last endeouours upon Aelian, I
purposed to haue kept to mine owne pri-
uate uſe, and not to haue presented
them to the view of the world. But now
being to depart from you, and tojourney
into a farre Countrey, and finding your
kindnſſe and loue toward me ſuch, as I was not with any
reaſon to expect, I altered my minde, and hauing nothing
elſe

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else to offer vnto you, I resolued to make this a monument of my thankefullnesse to you, and a testimony of my desire to doe you the best seruice I am able. For my paines herein, I leue them to the iudgement of any learned Reader; for the profit of the Treatise, I say no more but this, it containeth the practise of the best Generals of all antiquity concerning the formes of Battailles. And whereas many bold opinion, that it sorteth not with the vse of our times, they must give me leauue to be of another mind: Indeed our actions in Warre are onely now a dayes and sieges oppugnations of Cities; Battailles wee heare not of, saue onely of a few in France, and that of Newport in the Low-Countries. But this manner will not last alwayes, nor is there any Conquest to be made without Battailles. He that is Master of the field, may dispose of his affaires as he listeth; hee may spoyle the Enemies Countrey at his pleasure, he may march where he thinketh best, he may lay siege to what Towne he is disposed, he may raise any siege that the Enemy hath layed against him or his. Neither can any man be Master of the field without Battaille, in ordering wherewf, that Generall that is most skilfull, seldome misseth of winning the day: experience of former times clearnes this. I should exceede the compasse of an Epistle if I brought the examples, which serue to this purpose. Now for the skill of ordering Battailles, it is not to be learned out of the practise of our dayes, wherein when we come into the field, we make shewes, and musters rather, then obserue any formes of Battailles for vse: Battailles must not be always of one figure. The wise Generals of ancienter times, fashioned their battailles according to the range, which they saw the Enemy had before taken vp. The place often maketh an altera-

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alteration in that forme, which otherwise would serue to our purpose. He that is acquainted but with one forme, if he be forced to change that upon the sudden, disordereth his troope, and bringeth all into a confusion. The knowledge of the formes of battailles being then so necessary for a Generall, this little Pamphlet must needs be welcome to them that desire the manning of fields, and the command of Armies. For here haue you all formes expressed, together with their vse; so that the Generall that is acquainted with the practise of these precepts, shall not be to seeke to make transmutation of his battaille, into what forme souuer necessity shall require, & that upon the sudauen. As for them that hold, that great Ordnance will not admit any of these ancient formes in our dayes, I hold that for a dreame, and not worthy the answering; since the invention of great Ordnance, we never read of any forme of battaille disordered thereby; some slawbier hath beeene made by great Ordnance, and the Army that suffred by great Ordnance, hath beene forced the sooner to ioyne with the Enemy, when the Armies are ioyned, great Ordnance hath and must still, and looke about as an idle spectator, seruing for no other vs, then for a pray to him that gangeth the field. Now for small shot, it succeedeth in the place of the light-armea of antiquity. By them a Battaille may be broken, if they be not repressed, and themselves cut off in time. But what is said of them, that may not be said of Bowes and Arrows? The greatest fields that we gained against the French, were gained onely by our Archery. To say nothing of other Nations, that had the skill of shooting: so that it no reason can be alleaged why the formes of Battailles used by antiquity for aduantage, may not be as well vsed in our dayes.

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dayes. Howsoeuer the matter standeth, my desire is, that the Treatise may with your fauourable acceptance beare your names in the Front thereof. Not because I thinke it worthy of your Patronage, but for that I would haue it appeare to the world, how much I esteeme of your kindnesse (as I said) and of your loue, which you expressed toward me in my taking leaue of the City. The Lord of hostes haue you in his keeping.

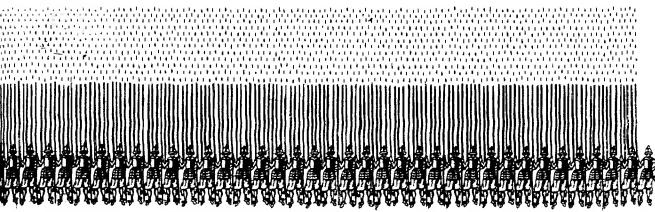
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to doe you seruice.

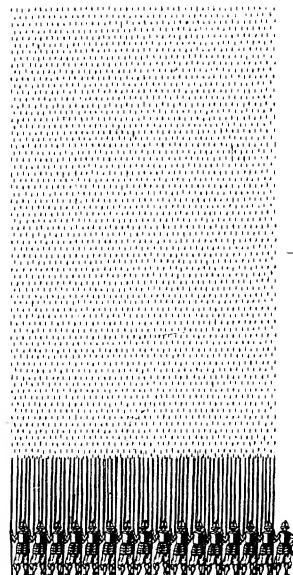
JOHN BINGHAM.

Plagiophalanx or the Broad-Fronted
Phalange

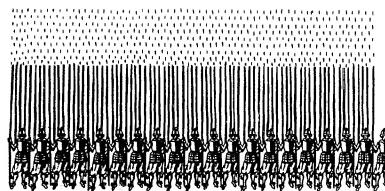
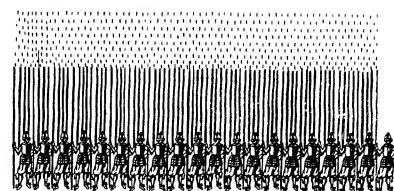
Cap. 30.



Orthophalanx or the Herring



Loxe-Phalanx or the uneven fronted
Phalange



The Front



THE TACTICKS OF AELIAN, OR THE ART OF EMBATTAL- LING ARMIES.

*The broad-fronted Phalange, the deepe Phalange, or Herfe, and
the vneuen-fronted Phalange.*

CHAP. XXX.

(1)



Latiophalange, or the broad-fronted *Phalange*, is that, which hath the (2) length manifoldly exceeding the depth.

(3) *Orthiophalange*, or the deepe *Phalange* (now commonly called the *Herfe*) is that, which proceedeth by a (4) winge, having the depth much exceeding the length. In generall speech every thing is called (5) *Paramaches*, which hath the length more then the depth; and that which hath the depth more then the length

(6) *Orthon*: and so likewise a *phalange*.

The *Phalange* (7) *Lox*, or vneuen-fronted, that is, which putteth forth one of the wings (which is thought fittest) towards the Enemy, and with it begins the fight, holding off the other in a conuenient distance, till opportunity be to aduance.

NOTES.

This Chapter and the next, seeme not to hold their right place: for being set before the manner how to wheele, and likewise before closings, and inserted betwixt the motions of the *Phalange* (to which ^{2 Battaille} appertaine) they interrupt the method or orderly handling of the said motions; which method *Aelian* curiously obserueth through his whole Booke. Besides, *Aelian* himselfe, after a manner pointeth out the true place of them, in that in the 24 Chapter, rehearſing shortly the appellations or words of Military discipline; he placeth thicke formes after Induction and Deduction: I take it therefore, that their proper place is after the 37 Chapter, the rather, because all the formes of Marches from thenceforth handled, are either *Squares* of the one kinde or other, or else spring out of these Squares. I ^{b Cap. 18.} noted be- fore

The Tadiks of *Aelian*, or

fore, that there are three kinds of Squares; one, that hath a longer front then flanke; another, that hath a longer flanke, then front; the third, that hath the front and flanke equall. Of the third *Aelian* speaketh in the 42 Chapter, of the first and second in this Chapter: of these two therefore I will treat in order. And first I will handle the *Nomes*; then the *Vſe*, lastly the *Manner* how to transforme one into another.

The firſt is called

1. *Plagiophalanx, or the broad-fronted Phalange.*) The word *νάρης* is often interpreted for *oblique*, which ſignification it cannot haue heere; the oblique Phalange being in this Chapter rearmed by the name of *νάρης*, and yet diſtinguished from the *Plagiophalanx*. They that tranſlate *Plagiophalanx*, the transuerſe or ouer-thwart fronted Phalange, agree better with *Aelian* ſigning, because it meeteth the enemy with a front transuerſe, and drawne out in length, and direcely oppofite againſt him. I haue rendred it the broad fronted Phalange, as more fitting the English tongue: It may also be called the long-fronted Phalange. For breadth (I haue remembred it before) and length of a Phalange are all one: If in this ſeſe is the word *νάρης* vifed by *Arrian*, being applied to the manner of bearing of a Pike. He telleteth, that *Alexander* transported his Army over the riuer *Iſter*, to inuade the territory of the *Getes*; and hath thus, *The number of ſhoſe that paſſed the riuer with Alexander, were about 1500 horſe, and 4000 foot. They paſſed in the night, and landed where the Corne was high, which was the cauſe that their arriuall was not defcried. As ſoone as the morning appeared, Alexander led them through the Corne fields; Commanding the ſoote, that bearing downe the Corne with their Pikes before them, *προπορευόμενοι, they ſhould march into the Champaigne.** The manner of their bearing of Pikes (as I interpret it) was this; They tooke the Pikes in the midſt with both their hands, and fo bore them out, not with the points forward, but croſſe and paralell the front of the Phalange, that the file leaders with one ioynt force might ledge and beare downe the high-grown Corne, and make easier paſſage for thoſe that followed. If they had carried them out ſlope, or oblique (which is the other ſignification of the word) it had beeene no more, then the particular force of euery man a part, that held his Pike ſloping; besides that, they would haue beeene intangled in the Corne; whereas the bearing of them croſſe paralell with the front, was the ioynt force of ſo many file-leaders, as did thrust forward againſt the Corne. Therefore as when the Pike is borne in full length croſſe the front of the battaile, the poſture of the Pike is ſaid to be *νάρης*, ſo is a Phalange termed *νάρης*, that hath a front ſtretched out in euēn length, and oppofed againſt the even front of the aduerſe battaile of the enemy.

*εργασία πάρης
μετρίας εργασίας
εργασίας τριπλης
εργασίας τριπλης*

4. *Phalange Macedoniam confiſting of 1624 pike-men
Phalangarchis the fourth part
of a Phalange.*

2. *The length manifoldly exceeding the depth.*] *Aelian* ſets not downe ex-prely any proportion of the exceſſe of the length aboue the depth, onely he ſaith, it muſt manifoldly exceed the depth: We muſt take it then, that the exceſſe of the length muſt beat the leaſt threefold; for thrice falle into the appellation of manifold. A *Macedonian fourfold Phalange* may iuſtly chal-lenge this name, being 1024 men in length, onely 16 in depth. And likewife a Phalangarchis led fearefully and by it ſelfe, as hauing 256 men in length, but 16 in depth. The reſt of the bodies of the *fourfold Phalange*, till you come downe to a *Pentecorachy*, albeit ranged by themſelues, are likewife *Plagiophalanges*, or broad-fronted baſtailes. A *Pentecorachy* hath onely

twice

the Art of Embattailing Armies.

twice ſo many in front, as in flanke (as 32 in front, 16 in flanke) and there- fore coniunct not vnder the name of a broad-fronted Phalange. So that, men- chy hath in it ſixteene. The ordinary depth, it ſtill The ordinary is accounted a *Plagiophalanx*. When it is but twice ſo long in front as in flanke, it cannot defere that name, but it is to be termed rather a Square of ground, because the flanke in a ſquare of ground taketh vp as much ground as the front. To the *Battaile-broad-fronted*, is next added the *Phalange*, called

3. *Orthiophalanx, or Herſe*] which albeit it haue the length and depth vinequall, as hath the *Plagiophalanx*, or broad-fronted Phalange, yet muſt the depth manifoldly exceed the length, which is contrary in the *Plagio- phalanx*. This ſaith *Aelian* proceedeth in

4. *A wing.*) To proceede in a *Wing* is to march on with a parcell or one body of the Army, namely with a certayne number of files (as with a ^a *Tetragrammaton*, ^b *Taxis*, or ^c *Syntagma*) and to follow with the reſt in like manner, ſo that the whole army holdeth no proportion of *length* or *breadth* to the *depth*. ^d *Arche*, ^e *A body of* That which is called by *Aelian Orthiophalanx*, is called by ^b *Diodorus Siculus*, ^f *A body of* and by ^c *Arrian*, ^g *στρατός*, a deep phalange, because the forme of it arifeth out of the depth of the embattailing, as I haue noted vpon the ſeventh Chap- ^h *A body of* ter. This kinde of march the Greekke writers exprefſe by the words of lead- ⁱ *A body of* ding ^d *τάξεις* and ^e *στρατός*; that is, in a *wing*; whereas the other kinde with a ^j *Diodorus Siculus*, large front (I meane the broad-fronted Phalange) is ſaid to be led ^k *προπορευόμενοι*, ^l *Xenoph. hīp.* and ^m *προπορευόμενοι*, and ⁿ *προπορευόμενοι*, in a Phalange, and ^o *προπορευόμενοι*, ^p *Graec. l. 6. 55. 3. a.* ^q *προπορευόμενοι*, in extencion of breadth. The words I recite to helpe them, who although they be ſkilfull in the Greekke tongue, yet are not ſo well ac- ^r *Xenoph. hīp.* ^s *Græc. l. 6. 55. 3. d.* ^t *Arr. l. 1. 1. 1. e.* ^u *Arr. l. 1. 1. 1. f.* ^v *Arr. l. 1. 1. 1. g.* ^w *Arr. l. 1. 1. 1. h.* ^x *Arr. l. 1. 1. 1. i.* ^y *Arr. l. 1. 1. 1. j.* ^z *Arr. l. 1. 1. 1. k.* ^{aa} *Arr. l. 1. 1. 1. l.* ^{bb} *Arr. l. 1. 1. 1. m.* ^{cc} *Arr. l. 1. 1. 1. n.* ^{dd} *Arr. l. 1. 1. 1. o.* ^{ee} *Arr. l. 1. 1. 1. p.* ^{ff} *Arr. l. 1. 1. 1. q.* ^{gg} *Arr. l. 1. 1. 1. r.* ^{hh} *Arr. l. 1. 1. 1. s.* ⁱⁱ *Arr. l. 1. 1. 1. t.* ^{jj} *Arr. l. 1. 1. 1. u.* ^{kk} *Arr. l. 1. 1. 1. v.* ^{ll} *Arr. l. 1. 1. 1. w.* ^{mm} *Arr. l. 1. 1. 1. x.* ⁿⁿ *Arr. l. 1. 1. 1. y.* ^{oo} *Arr. l. 1. 1. 1. z.* ^{pp} *Arr. l. 1. 1. 1. aa.* ^{qq} *Arr. l. 1. 1. 1. bb.* ^{rr} *Arr. l. 1. 1. 1. cc.* ^{ss} *Arr. l. 1. 1. 1. dd.* ^{tt} *Arr. l. 1. 1. 1. ee.* ^{uu} *Arr. l. 1. 1. 1. ff.* ^{vv} *Arr. l. 1. 1. 1. gg.* ^{ww} *Arr. l. 1. 1. 1. hh.* ^{xx} *Arr. l. 1. 1. 1. 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The Tacticks of Aelian, or

not to be led in a broad-fronted Phalange (because the places are wayes through which you are to march, are sometimes large, sometimes streight, sometimes rough, sometimes plaine, and so you cannot preserue an even front, but must change the forme and disorder it) but in a *Horse* or *deep Phalange*, which will fit all places, and in the greatest inequality of wayes maintaine the forme of the battaile entire. And so much of the signification of the words marching in a *Wing*, and marching in a *Phalange*.

5. Every thing is called *Paramakes*.] It is to be obserued, that there is a difference betwenee *Paramakes* and *Heromakes*: I thought good to note it, because *Aelian* in diuers places mentioneth both. *Paramakes* is the figure, according to *Aelian*, where in the length many times exceeds the depth; it may be *Heromakes*, albeit it be but twice as long as deepe. I am not ignorant that ^a *Euclyde* nameth all four fideled figures, that haue right angles, and unequal sides, *Heromakes*. But *Aelian*, though hee apply *Heromakes* sometimes to the ^b *front*, sometimes to the *flanke*, yet he giues no more than a double proportion either of *front* to *flanke*, or *flanke* to *front*.

^a Eucl. lib. 1. def. 4.
^b Aelian. c. 18. s. 8.

6. *Oribus.*] Albeit the word *Oribus* properly signifie things rising in a *height*, yet in military discouerfe it is applied to the dimension of the *depth* of a battell, and not of the *length*. Here a Phalange is termed *Oribus*, and in *Leo* in the place last by me cited, mention is made of *orthophalanges*, *deep* or *battailing*; and in *Xenophon* ^c *Adversus Cyrus*, *A Companie* ^d *seth out in depth*; ^e *in the* *Polybius* also, and *Appian*, ^f *Pol. en batt. before*, *reversus*, ^g *is, and* *reversus*, for an army, that is cast into a great *depth*, and into a narrow *front*. Therefore, as *Paramakes* signifieth the *length* of the *front*; so *Oribus* signifieth the *depth* of the *flanke* of any battell ordered, as is aforesaid. Thus much of the nature of the two battells: It remaynes to shew the *Vise* of them, and how one may be transformed into the other.

The *Plagiophalange*, or *broad-fronted battell* bringeth most hands to fight with conuenientey, and therefore is accounted the better forme; and as neere as opportunity of ground would give leue, the ancient Generals principally affected, and fought to put this forme in vre: It hath the commodity to *overfront* the aduerse battell, and is safe it selfe from *overfronting*, vniuersle the Enemy bring a greater multitude then you haue to ouer-march your Army. The *Macedonian Phalange* was for the most part of this forme, as all the fields *Alexander* fought evidently declare; So ordered he his troopes at *Graecia*, so at *Iffos*, so at *Gangariclos*, so in other places, if the ground wold serue. This Caution notwithstanding was obserued, that the depth held proportion with the length; otherwise the length profiteth not so muches the thinnesse of the depth hurts, by giuing meancs to the enemy to breake through, and put the aduerse battell in a rout. I haue noted it before out ^g *Socr. et. g. 10. 2.* of *Leo*.

The *Herse*, or *deepe Phalange*, was thought the weakest kinde to fight in. *Parmenes*, one of the chiefeft Commanders *Alexander* had, disfarrast it (as I haue shewed a little before.) ^h *Cyrus* the elder, in the embattailing of the *Egyptians*, derid it; yet cannot the forme of the *broad-fronted Phalange* be exactly taken vp, but that necessity will sometime force the other. In *straight places* it hath bee[n] often vied: So ⁱ *Darius* in the battaile of *Iffos*, by reason of the straighthesse of ground, was forced to this forme: So *Roxilla* the *Carthaginian*, was faine in a *straight place* to make a *narrow front* of his

ⁱ An. l. 1. 14.
^j Xenoph. *Cyrop.*
^k 16. 1. 57. 8.

^l Par. lib. 32. c.

the Art of Embattailing Armies.

phalange, and to extend it in depth. And ^l *Atilius Glabrio* the Roman Con- ^m *Liv. l. 46. 112. 4.* *full*, in the *heights* of *Thermopylae* aginst *Antiochus*: and ⁿ *P. Scipio* in *Spanie* ^o *Liv. l. 38. 21. 5. 6.* aginst the *Hiberget*. Therefore in *large grounds* the first forme is to be chosen, in *narrow and rough places* the other. The *Herse* is also fit for Marches, because in a March you are assured to meet with variety of ground; sometimes with woods, sometimes with bushes, sometimes with streight wayes, with riuers, with hills, with pits, with bridges, with ditches, and such like impediments, so that the *front* of your *broad-fronted phalange* must needs be disfolued; whereas no difficulty of wayes can hinder the passage of a *Herse*, ^p *Liv. l. 45.* the *front* whereof may be narrowed (according to the ground you march in) as you list. ^q *Alexander* being to lead his Army against the *Thracians*, that ^r *Arr. l. 1. 8. 3.* had planted themselves in the mount *Zemus*, was faine to narrow the *front* of his *phalange*, according to the way that led vp to the Mount: The issue did ^s *Agesilaus* passing through the *heights* of *Mamnia*; the History is ^t *Xenoph. hist.* ^u *Ad. 1. 1. 6. 10. D.* me recited before in my notes vpon the 26 Chapter ^v *Panimente*: likewise ^w *Le. 1. 1. 6. 10. D.* ^x *Plut. Alex. 1. 5. 3.* ^y *Strab. 11. 4. 1. 5. 3.* ^z *Scip. exp. 1. 1. 4. 1. 5. 3.* ^{aa} *Ant. 1. 1. 4. 1. 5. 3.* ^{bb} *Scip. exp. 1. 1. 4. 1. 5. 3.* ^{cc} *Ant. 1. 1. 4. 1. 5. 3.* ^{dd} *Scip. exp. 1. 1. 4. 1. 5. 3.* ^{ee} *Ant. 1. 1. 4. 1. 5. 3.* ^{ff} *Scip. exp. 1. 1. 4. 1. 5. 3.* ^{gg} *Ant. 1. 1. 4. 1. 5. 3.* ^{hh} *Scip. exp. 1. 1. 4. 1. 5. 3.* ⁱⁱ *Ant. 1. 1. 4. 1. 5. 3.* ^{jj} *Scip. exp. 1. 1. 4. 1. 5. 3.* ^{kk} *Ant. 1. 1. 4. 1. 5. 3.* ^{ll} *Scip. exp. 1. 1. 4. 1. 5. 3.* ^{mm} *Ant. 1. 1. 4. 1. 5. 3.* ⁿⁿ *Scip. exp. 1. 1. 4. 1. 5. 3.* ^{oo} *Ant. 1. 1. 4. 1. 5. 3.* ^{pp} *Ant. 1. 1. 4. 1. 5. 3.* ^{qq} *Ant. 1. 1. 4. 1. 5. 3.* ^{rr} *Ant. 1. 1. 4. 1. 5. 3.* ^{ss} *Ant. 1. 1. 4. 1. 5. 3.* ^{tt} *Ant. 1. 1. 4. 1. 5. 3.* ^{uu} *Ant. 1. 1. 4. 1. 5. 3.* ^{vv} *Ant. 1. 1. 4. 1. 5. 3.* ^{ww} *Ant. 1. 1. 4. 1. 5. 3.* ^{xx} *Ant. 1. 1. 4. 1. 5. 3.* ^{yy} *Ant. 1. 1. 4. 1. 5. 3.* ^{zz} *Ant. 1. 1. 4. 1. 5. 3.* ^{aa} *Ant. 1. 1. 4. 1. 5. 3.* ^{bb} *Ant. 1. 1. 4. 1. 5. 3.* ^{cc} *Ant. 1. 1. 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The Taticks of *Aelian*, or

the enemies, that exceede vs in number, will over-front vs, and vs their multitude to most advantage: In a narrow front it will be no maruaile to see our Phalange cut asunder with misse weapons, and with men ordered in battaile to charge vs; whereby the whole Phalange will be disredded. Therefore, as I said, I hold it best to put the Armys into Companies stretched out in depth, gowing to each Company such distance one from another, that our wings may over-reach the vttermost points of the enemies battaile: and let every company make choice of their stiffe way for ascent: As for the spaces betwixt company and company, it shall be easie for the enemy to convey himselfe into them, all the companies on all sides (in case he enter) wrapping him in betwixt them: and if it chance that any company be disredded, the next company is to succour and aide it. Now say, that one company attaine to the top of the hill, you may be assured, that no enemy will keepe his ground. This Counsell was assentted to by all; When therfore every man had taken his place, and the ⁴ companies were laid out in their iust depth, the armed amounted to about 80 companies, in eury of which were reckoned almost 100 men: The Targetters and Archers were diuided into three bodies, the first to march without the armed of the left wing, the second without the armed of the right, the third in the midst, every body consisting of well-nigh 600 men. After prayers made to the gods, the souldors advanced, singeing the Peane; Then Chersophus and Xenophon (leading the point of the Grecian battaile) and the Targetters with them, who ever reached the enemies wings, hasten on a pace, and the enemy perceiving it, extended their wings to meet them, and by that meane were distractid some to the right, some to the left hand, leaveng an empty space in the middest of their Phalange: The Targetters arm'd after the Arcadian manner, led by *Aelian* the Acharnan, seeing the enemies battaile disredded, and imaginizing them to fly, ranne forth with all speede, and were the first that gained the hill: they were seconded by the armed Arcadian, commanded by Cleonot the Orchomenian. When the Enemy saw them come running on, they forsooke their ground, and began to shift for themselves, one way, another another: The Grecians having gained the Hill, encamped there. Hitherto Xenophon, out of whose practise the best adresse against an enemy, that possessest a Hill, over which our Army is to march, may be learned: In a broad-fronted Phalange it is hard to proceede, both because of the inequality of the ground, which will easily breake the phalange, and disioynt all the parts thereof, and also for that the enemies weapons throwne from the higher ground will not lightly misse so great a body, and great stones, and other masse, tumbled downe, will bearre downe and make ruine of whatsoeuer commeth in the way, impossible to misse in such an extencion on length, and thronging of the Army: to lead in one and a continued Herse is no lesse dangerous. A few men, and those onely in front, shall come to fight against a multitude of enemies, who will over-front and charge them on all sides. Xenophons Counsell then is to make diuers bodies, and to order them so scuered in front and flankes, that they may over-front the enemy, and not be parted asunder with the vneuenesse of the ascent, nor yet prove too faire a marke for the enemies weapons. The Bodies are declared to be Companies each of 100 men; these so diuided one from another in distance filewise, that the vttermost bodies on both sides might be able to over-reach the points of the enemies wings, and to make choice of the best Ascent toward the height of the hill. Further, the forme of ordering the bodies is set downe, They were stretched out in depth (*ἐπίπλον*:): Orthios loches is here taken for a Company ordered in one file; and it signifieth as much

⁴ *τόνος τοῦ στρατοῦ*
επίπλον

1200 light-armed.

^c A song or hymne to Apollo viced by the Grecians when they ioyned with the Enemy. *τόνος τοῦ στρατοῦ* *επίπλον*. But the Scholiastes of Thucydides saith, there were two Peans, one to Mars before victory, the other to Apollo after victory. l.1.

the Art of Embattailing Armies.

as *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, a Company ordered one man singly after another: which phrase is used by Xenophon elsewhere: and in the same sence ^c Thucydides useth the phrase ^b *Xenoph. Cyren.* *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, which his sco. ^a *L.55. A.6. L.5.* ^b *Thucyd. 1.130. D.* Iatades interpreteth *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, *having one after another*. And ^d Poly. *επίπλον*, *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, ^e *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, ^f *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, ^g *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, ^h *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, ⁱ *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, ^j *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, ^k *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, ^l *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, ^m *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, ⁿ *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, ^o *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, ^p *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, ^q *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, ^r *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, ^s *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, ^t *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, ^u *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, ^v *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, ^w *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, ^x *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, ^y *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, ^z *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, ^{aa} *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, ^{bb} *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, ^{cc} *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, ^{dd} *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, ^{ee} *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, ^{ff} *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, ^{gg} *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, ^{hh} *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, ⁱⁱ *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, ^{jj} *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, ^{kk} *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, ^{ll} *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, ^{mm} *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, ⁿⁿ *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, ^{oo} *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, ^{pp} *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, ^{qq} *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, ^{rr} *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, ^{ss} *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, ^{tt} *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, ^{uu} *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, ^{vv} *τάξις ἐπίπλον*, ^{ww} *τάξις 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S Appianis Spracis
97.6.

Herse

them ~~be~~, either out of the ignorance of the manner of embattelling amongst the Romans, or else because the Grecians in their writings reduced the order of the Roman embattelling unto their owne vse. So they called a Tribune of the Roman Army a Chilarch, albeit a Chilarch amongst the Grecians and a Tribune amongst the Romans differ very much, as I have noted vpon the ninth Chapter of *Elian*: the manner of embattelling of the Army of *Aelius Gabrio* Roman Consull in the streights of Thermopyle, a commeth neerer vnto the Greekish forme: *Appian* describeth it thus: *An. tiebus huius fortis sed stricte Thermopylae a double wall, et drawne forth his army ordibly for fight, to make good th' place aginst Aelius*; *Aelius diuidid his iro pas into three parts, and giuing one p. r. to Cato, another o. Plaues, the one to make his passage on the one side of the hills, the other on the other, himself led the ordinary way against Antiochus, and framig off is ownne battell, which manner of embattelling alone, saith *Appian*, serveth for stright streys to passe on and forced his enemy to retire, gaind his Camp. The *euiai* here mentioned, are no other then the ^b *Orthio-phalange*, which *Elian* hath set downe in this Chapter, namely, hauing one Maniple (or if the streight peritt not a Maniple of 12 files to march entirely in front) one *Ordo* consisting of six files to advance, the rest following in the same inde, as the falshon is of the right hand, remembred by *Elian* herafter in his 3rd Chapter. Now albeit that forme come neerer to the Gracian forme, yet it is not the forme, the one filling the way with the Maniple or Ordo, as it fell out, in the same figure, that it stands in the field, the other changing the order of the field, drawing the Company out into one pl. in lyoyng other Companies with it in front, as many as the way would receiue: So that the Grecian had 200 in depth of the body, the Roman but 10. We are not to pretent, that albeit *Aelius* vied this forme to dilidge *Appian* before the *H. H.*, yet he traueld not to it alone, but diuiding his Army into three parts, he caused two of them to march vp the *hills* on both sides, himselfe in the midle, to the end that one part might alaine the height over *Antiochus* head, and so make him forsake his ground. Thus farre of the vse of these two kinnes of *Pl.* *Larger* or *barrailes*: it remaineth to shew, how one of them may be transformed into another.*

Transformation of one into another.

Doubling of size.

¹ See Elgin & 7.

The next proceeding Chapter teacheth, that out of doublings of Ranks, the length of the battell ariseth, as the depth out of doubling of files. I have shewed the manner of both in my notes vpon the 8 and 29 Chapter. And this manner is either in a single Company, or in a full Army : In great Bodies it hath no great vse, let the Example be of a Phalanx, which is the fourth part of a fourfold Phalange, and containeth 256 files. Double the files once you shall 128 files, and 32 men in depth, and but 3 foot distanee in ranke. The second doubling bringeth forth 64 files, and as many men in depth, but the distanee betwixt ranke and ranke is but a foot and a halfe. Beyond this doubling you cannot proceede; for beside the confusione of places of officers, which are in number above 250 in a Phalanx, the intervals betwixt man and man, will not conveniently allow above two doublings: your open order betwixt man and man, wherein they stand at first, giue but fix foot: The first doubling takes away three foot from every internall, the seconde leaueth but a foot and halfe. And considering that when the battell is clost for fight, the neareste distanee betwixt ranke and ranke ought to be no lesse then five feet,

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in regard of handling of weapons (as I haue shewed before out of *Polybius.*) The *second doubling*, albeit it yeedeth roome from the bodies of Souldiers to stand in, yet it takes away the halfe of this distance, but the *third doubling* ^{in my notes vp-} ^{on the 11 chap.} lowing but 3 quarters of a foot for each man to stand in, giveth not so much ground as his body will possesse. So is it likewise of Ranks, which will not suffer above two doublings fit for vse. *A mans file* is of 16 men, double your rankes once, your *file* will containe no more then eight men, and every man shall haue three foot *distance* from other in *rankes*, double them twice, the *file* hath but four men, and every mans *distance in ranke* is no more then a foot and halfe, which as it is allowable in clost order, to admitteth it no third *doubling*, wherein the *space* betwixt man and man cannot exceed three quarters of a foot. As therefore the *second doubling of ranks* in a *Phalangarchy*, albeit it extend the front of the battell, leaueth yet too small a *depth* to the *Plagiophalanx* or *orbaal-roneted bataille*, it containing no more then four men in *depth*. So the *doubling of files* twice fifteneighth not the *Orthiophalanx* or *Hercie*, as hauing 64 in *depth*, and as many in *length*, which number neither holdeth proportion of the *depth* manifold to the *length* of the *Orthiophalanx* or *Hercie*, nor yet by reason of the *length* hath conuenientcy to apply it selfe to streight waies; a thing that containeth the principall vse of that manner of bataille; which was the cause that antiquity vsed another course.

If the march were to be in line out of a *Plagiophalange* or broad-fronted battle, they framed a *Horse*, by putting forth out of the right or left wing, first one ^a Tetrarchy, or other body which might march whole according to the ^b body of forces *lungen*, *of the men*, and after it followed from the same wing, the rest of the *Army* in the same line. If contrariwise a *Plagiophalange* or broad-fronted battle were to be framed out of an *Orthiophalange* or a *Horse*, they caused the body which had the vaunt, to stand firme, and the rest following to flee up by it on the right or left hand, till they all came to an even front: ^b Xenoph. Cyren. 1.55.4. ^c Xenophon sheweth the manner in a Company, whose words are these in Eng. ^d *metayaros.* lith; I hen be (*cyrus* the elder) beke'd another ^e Captain leading his Company from ^f *ezibor.* the river side to dinner, one soldier following another in a ^g single file, who when hee though fit comen led the second, and third, and fourth file to fleece vp, and make an even front with the first; the file-leaders being new in front, bee commanded the ^h halfe files to double the file, so that now the Decadrachies or leaders of halfe files stood in front. ⁱ *xix.* here fig. Againe when it serued greate, bee commanded the quarter files to double the front: so the Pempe darchies or leaders of the quarter of files led vp, and the files marched on, being diuided into fourre parts. When they were come unto the Tent doore, bee commanded the first file to stagre out againe, and to enter in, and the second to follow it singel in the rearre, and so the third and fourth, still all were within the Tent. To cleare these words of Xenophon, It is to be understandeth, that the Company or *ezibor* here mentioned, consisteth of ten men, and was diuided into fourre files or *ezoxi*, each file containing twenty fourre men. The file had five Officers, *she file leader, the Decadrach, two Pimedrich, and the bringer vp.* At the head of the file stood the file-leader, and behinde him directly five men; next after them stood the first Pimedrich and five men that followed him: in the middlest of the file (that is, after the Pimedrich and his five) was placed the Decadrach (who led the hanter or halfe file, and after him fift men more). Lastly, the second Pimedrich and five more after him, the last of which was the bringer vp. ^j One that followed after the first in fronte, the otheres ^k that was next the wife, he meaneþ that the fourre files were cast into one file, and followed one rear.

The Tacticks of Aelian, or

another in a right line, and by that meanes had 100 in depth, and but one in front. To bring it therefore to conuenient length from this depth, the Captaigne commanded the first file leader to make Alte, or to stand, and the second file leader with his file to advance, and to sleeve vp on the left hand and to front with the first file leader, and so both files to stand *even fronted* in open order. The like he commanded the third and fourth file to doe; so that the foure files being laid one to another, and *fronting equally*, the front or length of the body had foure men, the depth 24. Then, because he held this depth disproporcional to the length, in so small a body; he againe enlarged the front by doubling, commanding the halfe files to double their front. The Decadarchis hereupon marched vp to the front, and ranked with the file leaders, and the halfe files following them, ranked with the front-halfe files man to man. Now was the front eight in length, the flanke or depth twelve. To enlarge againe the front, and to make the length exceede the depth, he commanded the quarter files to double the front: hereupon the Pempedarchis advanced marching vp with their quarter files after them, till they fronted with the file leaders and Decadarchis, and each man of the quarter files ranked with the rest, so that the front came to be of 16 men in length, the flanke six men in depth, and each man in række had a foot and halfe distanse, in file six foot. And thus the Company from one file, as it were from an *Orthiophalange* or Herse, was formed into a long body somewhat resembling a *Plagiophalange* or broad-fronted battaile. To reduce it againe to an *Orthiophalange* or Herse, the Captaigne at the entry into the Tent (where the whole Company was lodged together) first directed the first file to march out, namely by the file leader with his five, then the first Pempedarch with his five, after him the Decadarch with his five, lastly, the second Pempedarch with his five; which drawing out of the Officers one after another in depth, with the parts of the file Commanded by them, immediately brought the file to the iuft depth of 24. This being done, the second file followed the first in like order, and the third the second, & last of all came the fourth: and this was the manner of changing one forme into another: and albeit the example be but of a Company, yet is the reasoun all one in a Phalange or battaile; for as a company is compacted of many files, so is a phalange of divers companies; and as one file, in the example before, was led after another filewise, so is, or may, one company or other body be led after another, making thereby an *Orthiophalange* or Herse: and as one file advanced to front with another, to the intent to alter the forme of the *Orthiophalange*, so must the bodies or companies sleeve vp one by another to make a *plagiophalange* or broad-fronted battaile, yet want there not Examples in the Greekke History of turning the *Orthiophalange* or Herse into a *plagiophalange* or broad fronted battaile, and by conquence the *plagiophalange* into an *Orthiophalange*. *Cherisophus* in the retурne of the 10000 Grecians, that followed *Cyrus* the yonger in ²*Xenoph.* ¹*depth.* to *Perſia*, had the leading of the Vant-gard all the way. ²*He in his march* ^{4334.4.} *Armenia* perceiving the *Chalybes*, *Tachians* and *Phasians* had taken certayne moutaines, over which the Grecians were to passe, made alſo ſome 30 furlings before he came to the Enemy, leſt encoumerring with the enemy, he ſhould fight with his army being led in a wing or *Orthiophalange*: He commanded therefore the Captaines that followed him with their companies, every one after another to sleeve vp their companies by his, to the intent to cast the army into a *plagiophalange* or broad-fronted battaile. When the reare Commanders were come vp, hee called a counſell to advise of the best

The bringer vp
watch the laſt of all

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the Art of Embattailing Armies.

course in proceeding. Here is the order of the Grecians march exprefſed to be in a *Herſe* or *Orthiophalange*, which conſifted of many companies one following another; and likewile the manner of tranſfiguring the Herſe into a broad fronted phalange, viz. the Captaignes one after another ſleeuing vp their companies by *Cherisophus* his company on the left hand, and making an equal front with him. And yet this example containeth no more, then the ſleeuing vp of the Companies vpon one flanke. *Cherisophus* firſt made Stand with his companies, hauing the vant; the following Captaignes ſleeued vp their companies on his left hand, as the files did one after another in the other example.

^{c.} Alexander vſed another kinde of ſleeuing a little before he fought the bat. ^{arr. 14.15.} tell of 1553; For, cauſing the vanc-gard firſt to stand, he commanded the reſt ^{c.D.} of the foot to march vp to the front of the vanc-gard on either flanke. The words lyce thus in *Arrian*. Alexander haying by midnight gained the Streights of Cilicia, ſetting out a freight match upon the rockes, refed, and refreſhed his army till morning ^a day-breake he descended from the freights in the ordinary way, and ^b as long as the paſſage was narrow, he led in a wing; afterwards the mountaines ope- ^{c. 1553.} ring a greater diſtance, he enlarged his wing into a phalange by little and little ſtill ſeeing up the armed, one body after another to the front; ^d on the right hand toward the mountaines, on the left hand toward the ſea. The Horſe all this while marched after the ſea; but comming to ground of larger capacity, they were ordered on the wings. This manner of working to make a phalange out of Herſe, was by drawing the following companies vp on both flanks, on the right toward the mountaines, on the left toward the ſea; ſo that it diſcreth from the other forme wherein the Companies were ſleeued but vpon one hand. A third way of making a *Plagiophalange* of a Herſe, I finde in *Polybius*, *Archandias the Lacedemonian* ^{Polyb. 11.2.} *Tyrant* (ſhuſt he) being to fight with *Philopamea* the *Achean General*, who had ſhewed his army into a broad fronted phalange, made ſemblance at firſt, as though he meant in a *Herſe* to charge the right wing of the Enemies battaile; but approaching ^{e. 1552. 1553.} never at a conuenient diſtance, he brake off the hinder part of the Herſe, and facing it ^{f. 1553.} to the right hand marched out, and led it out in length, and ioyned it in equal front with his right wing, thereby equalling the left wing of the Achaeans. In this manner of tranſfiguring the Herſe into broad fronted phalanges, the companies or bodies follow not one another, to ſleeue vp to the front, but halfe the *Plagiophalange* is broken off at once (the reare halfe) and facing to the right or left hand, is led vp and ioyned in an even front with the other halfe, not vnlike to our vſage in exercife, when we command our middle men with their halfe files to face to the right or left hand, and marching out to double the front of our battaile. Thus much may ſuffice for the names, vſe and redution of one of these two Phalanges to another: The third Phalange mentioned in this Chapter followeth.

⁷ *The Phalange Loxe.*] There are two kindes of Loxes, or vneuen fronted Phalanges: The front of the one is figured in a continued right line ſtreched out bias-wise thus:  The other hath as it were two fronts, formed out of two feuerall parts of the Phalange; the one aduancing against the Enemy to begin the fight, the other ſtaying behinde, and keeping the firſt ground, being ordered without the flanke of the firſt, that vpon occation it may likewile aduance, and ioyne, or elſe retire from the Enemy, and giue backe; the figure ſhewes the ſhape of it; the laſt hath bin vſed by great Generals

The Tattick of *Aelian*, or

nerals as a forme of advantage in fight. The first only to win a passage, as I take it, ouer a riuier, or such like (where the broad-fronted Phalange could not passe) and to bring the Armie to a ground, where it might be ordered in better forme for fight. I will give one Example (for I read not many) of the first : ^a Alexander having conuict his armie over Hellestom, and entred into Phrygia, came as farre as the riuier Granicus. Three Lieutenant's of Darius with 2000. Horse, and well nigh as many foot, had embattell'd themselves on the other side of the riuier to hinder his passage : The riuier was full of depths and shallomes, somewhat dangerous to enter, and the bankes on the further side high, rough, and steep; besides, the Enemy was ready with horse cast into a long & broad-fronted phalange, and with seconds of foot to beat him backe, that should offer to clyme the bankes. Alexander being resolu'd to passe ouer, first ordered his troopes in a broad-fronted phalange : The right wing he commanded himselfe, and gave the command of the left to Parmenio ; then putting the Scout-horse with the Paeonians into the riuier, and after them a Phalangary of foot led by Amyntas the sonne of Arrabius, and then Ptolomy the sonne of Phillipus, who commanded the troope of Socrates, which troope had the Vant of all the horse that day, himselfe with the right wing entred the riuier (the Trumpets sounding, and the Army giving a shout) extending still his battell-bus-wife against the stremme (^{κατὰ ρεῖσθαι μεγάλον}) to the end the Persians might not fall upon him, as he led in a wing, but himselfe, as much as was possible, might come to ioyn with them, having the front of his phalange extended in length. The Persians cast ^b Darts from the high ground against the troopes of Amyntas and of Socrates, as they approached to the further banke, and some of them, where the ground was more even, descended to the brinke of the riuier ; so there was thrusting and sholdering of Horsemen, some to ascend out of the riuier, some to hinder the ascent. The Persians let flye many a dart, the Macedonians fought with spears : The first Macedonians that came to bands with the Persians, were cut a peeces fighting valiantly, save only those that retired vnto Alexander, who was now neare advanced with the right wing. He himselfe first of all charged the Persians, where the principal strength of the whole body of their horse and the Generals of the field stood ; about him was strong fight, and in the meane time one troope after another passed easilie ouer the riuier. This passage of the Historie is long, and therefore I forbear to recite the rest, only I adde, that after a long fight the Persians were forced to fye, and the victory remained with Alexander. And this, that I haue recited, may serue to shew the vse of this kinde of Loxe-phalange, which was practis'd by Alexander to no other end, then to gaine the passage of the riuier ; for in this forme hee would never haue fought, nor is there any president for it out of his battells ranged vpon even ground, where he might haue chosen the forme he liked best ; but here he was to get ouer a riuier, the enemy held the bankes on the other side with 2000. Horse ordered in a broad phalange ; the riuier was full of shallomes and depths, and thereby hardly passable ; the bankes on the other side steep and broken, and hard to ascend : Parmenio disswaded him to lead in a wing or herse, and himselfe had no great fancie to aduenture in that forme. In a broad-fronted phalange he could not, which mult needs haue beene broken by the unequal footing in the bottome of the riuier ? What did hee then ? hee thought best to choose a passable foord, and through it to put ouer the right wing of his Army slope-wise toward the further banke, whither when they came, they shold proceed against the stremme ; that the front being still extended, and the rest comming vp and ioyning, he might front toward and

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charge the Enemy phalange-wise. And that this was his meaning is plaine by ^a Polyer, who rehearsing the same Stratagem, saith, that Alexander led his ^b Epaminondas, who in that forme along the further banke to the end to ouer-front the Enemies Horse-battaile : So that this kinde of Loxe or uneven-fronted Phalange is no forme to fight in, as I conceiue, but hath beeorne sometimes taken vp, as a meane to attaine to a ground fit for a better forme ; as Alexander changed it soone as he came to the banks of the riuier on the other side, ^c Polycrat. § 16. The other (as I said) great Generals haue vied, and by it haue gained great victories. I will add an example or two, whereby the vse of it may more clearely appere : Epaminondas the Theban in a field against the Lacedemonians, gained a famous victory by this forme : ^d Diadorus Siculus writhc ^e Diedicit. 1. 15. thus, The Boetians also being ready to fight, the battailes on both sides were fashioned ^f 436.c. in this order : Amongst the Lacedemonians the Chieftaines of the race of Hercules had the wings (viz. Cleombrotus the King, and Archidamus who was the Lacedemonian of Agesilaus, the other King.) On the Boetian side Epaminondas using a certaine and choice kinde of embattailing, obtained a renowned victory by his martiall skill. For, selecting the best men out of all his troopes, he opposed them against one of the Enemies wings, himselfe resolutiong in his owne person to try the fortune of the day with them. Against the other wing he set the weakest, commanding them ^g to fight ^h 436.c. trying, and to gaine ground by little and little, when the Enemy came on to charge, framing therefore an uneven fronted Phalange, he determined to hazard the fight ⁱ 436.c. with that wing, which consisted of his chosen Soldiers. The Trumpets sounded, and the Armies gave a shout, and the Lacedemonians figuring a halfe Moon thrust out both their wings of purpose to cuirron the Boetians, who with one of their wings retired, with the other ran forth to ioyne with the Enemy : after ioyning, the Victorie hung a good while doubtfull thoroughe the valours of both parties, notwithstanding Epaminondas by the manhood of his people, and the ^k thicknesse of his battaile having ^l The Boetians the better, many of the Lacedemonians fell, for they were not able to endure the weight of the resolution of those chosen men, yet so long as Cleombrotus lived, and had many to ^m ioyn Targets for his defence, and ready to dye before him, the snayre of ⁿ 436.c. victory was uncertaine : But after he had cast himselfe into all kinds of dangers, and yet could not force the Enemy to retire, fighting heroically he was borne to ground with many wounds, and so ended his daies : There arose a flocking and concourse about his body, and multitudes of dead men were heaped one vpon another. That wing being now without a Commander, was hardly laid to by Epaminondas and sirck with plaine force somewhat disorderd. The Lacedemonians on the other side, brauely hazzarding for their King, recovered his dead body, but could not attaine to the victory : as also the selected band, albeit provoked by the vertue and exhortation of Epaminondas, it vied extraordinary valour, yet with much adoe did it force the battaile of the Lacedemonians, who first giving backe, somewhat disorderd themselves ; at last many falling, and no man being to command them, the whole armie tooke it selfe to flight. Epaminondas his soldiers followed the chace, flew many, made themselues Masters of the field, and carried away a notable and famous victory. Their honour was the more, because they fought with the most valiant men of all the Grecians, and overcame them being many more in number then themselves, contrary to all mens expectation ; but of all other Epaminondas was the man that merited most praise, who by his owne valour and martiall skill, won a battaile against those Generals of Greece, which to that day were held invincible. This Testimony of the Loxe phalange is somewhat long, but the worthinesse of the circumstances will, I hope, beare

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The Tacticks of Aelian, or

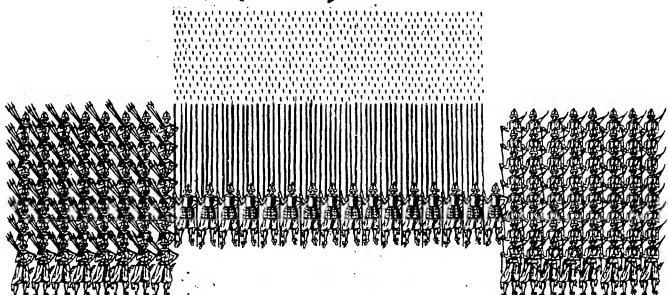
me out to recite it, wherein the forme agreeable to *Aelian* is first to be noted, as *advancing one wing against the Enemy, and holding off the other*; albeit it goe a little further then *Aelian* prescribeth, in that the *wing kept off*, stood not still, waiting time to come forward, but when the Enemy came vp, ioyned with him, giuing ground, of purpose to distract his phalange, and on that side to buse him with a slow fight, lest happily he might give vpon the aduersc flanke of *Epaminondas*, and succour his owne partie that already was in fight. It sheweth besides, the aduantage of Military skill; for the *Lacedemonians*, Masters of Armes at that day in *Greece*, hauing fashioned a *halfe Moone*, and imagining in that forme to inclole the small number of the *Bœotians*, and to charge them on euery side, *Epaminondas* with his *Loxe Phalange* so pleyed the front of their wings, that the rest of the *halfe Moone*, being never able to strike stroake, became vnprofitable: It shewes further what kinde of bataille is fittest to encounter the *halfe moone*: Lastly, it hath the reason and vse of the *Loxe phalange*; that is, to charge one of the Enemies wings with the best and strongest part of our forces, and at the same instant to annoy him with the other wing, thereby to embarre him from giving aide to his people that were in fight. ^{¶ Died. l. 17. 59. 2 E} *Alexander* vied this forme at *Gangarisl.*, beginning the fight and victory with his *right wing*, and after with his victorious troops succouring his *left wing*, that was in danger to be routed by the *Persians*. The like forme with the like successe was vised by ^{¶ Died. l. 19. 68. 6} *Antigonus* against *Eumenes*; it is a bataille worth the rehersing, but I haue beene long in the Example of *Epaminondas*, and therefore referre the Reader to the quotation. ^{¶ Died. Sic. l. 19.} *Demetrius* framed the like bataille against *Ptolemy* and *Selucus*, albeit he were frustrated of his hopes in the event by the foreight of *Ptolemy*, who opposed his choicest tropes against that wing of *Demetrius*, which was first to undertake the charge. Hitherto of these three formes of *Phalanges*, see the figures, in which albeit the two first be portraited without intervals, yet you must in the broad-fronted *Phalange* understand the three intervals vthall in the *Macedonian fourfold Phalange*: and in the *hers* the *spars* betwixt the reare of the bodies that lead, and of the front of those that follow.

*Parembole, Protaxis, Epitaxis, Prostaxis, Enaxis,
and Hypotaxis.*

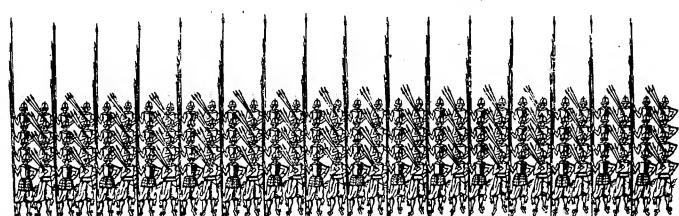
C H A P. XXXI.

(1) *Arembole, or insertion*, is, when Souldiers being placed in a body, we take some of the hindmost, and order them within the distancess of the first, drawing them vp in an equall front. (2) *Protaxis, or forefronting*, is, when we place the light-armed before the front of the Armed, and make them foreroders, as the file-leaders are: (3) When we order the light armed behind, it is called *Epitaxis*, as it were an after-placing. (4) *Prostaxis, or adioyning*, is, when to both flankes of the battell, or to one flanke, some of the hindmost are added, the front of them which are added lying even with the front of the battell. This addition is called *Prostaxis*. (5) *Enaxis or infisition*, is, when it seemeth good to set the light Armed within the spaces of the *Phalange*, man to man. (6) *Hypotaxis or double-winging*, is, when a man bestoweth the light armed on the wings of the phalange, so that the whole figure resembleth a threefold gate or doore. This

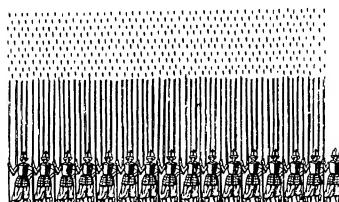
Cap. 31.



Hypotaxis, or double-winging



Enaxis, or insertion



Protaxis, or forefronting

NOTES.

This Chapter sheweth the inlarging of a *Phalange* or battell, by diuers placings partly of the armed, partly of the light-armed. It is not hard to be vnderstood ; the rather because most of the alterations here mentioned are spoken of heretofore either in *Aelian*, or in my notes : Sixe formes are here set downe, two by changing the place of some of the Armed, the other foure by changing the place of the light-armed, the armed are altered by

^b Parembole or ^c Proftaxis, the light armed by ^d Protaxis, ^e Epitaxis, ^f Entaxis, and ^g Hypotaxis ; what the signification of each is shall be shewed in

^b Doubling the front by middle men.

^c Adioyning.

^d Forefronting.

^e Placing after.

^f Placing be-

tweene.

^g Placing on the wings,

Aelian hath spoken in the 29 Chapter, see the figure there.

1. *Parembole.*] This must alwayes be of armed, which are taken from the reare of the Armed, and inserted betwixt the files of the front : of this kinde is the doubling of the front by middle men with their halfe files, whereof ^a *Diod.Sicil.19.*

2. *Protaxis* or *fore-franting.*] I haue shewed before in the notes vpon the feuenth Chapter, that the light-armed were diuersly placed in the front, in the reare, on the wings, within the battell ; when they are placed before, it is called *Protaxis*, see the figure here : ^b *Polomie* and *Selucus* being to fight ^a ^b *Diod.Sicil.19.*

against *Demetrius*, who had many Elephants, placed the light armed *before*, to ^c *717.* the intent to wound the Elephants and turne them away from their Phalange : so *Alexander*, so *Darius*, at the battaile of *Iffos*, placed darters and slingers before the fronts of their phalange : they ferue greatly to annoy the Enemy being so placed, especially being not charged with horse or pikes ; if they be charged with either, they are to retire into the interuals of their owne battaile of pikes : See *Onofander* cited by me in my notes vpon the 7 Chapter of this Booke.

3. *Epitaxis.*] Ordering of the light-armed *behinde* was the vsuall manner of the *Macedonian* Embattelling, from whence they drew them at pleasure to any place of service : see the 7 Chapter.

4. *Proftaxis.*] it is, when armed are taken from *behinde* and laid to one or both flanks of the battell fronting even with the front thereof, which is a doubling of frankes, as is before shewed, done when the hinder halfe files diuide themselues, march out and front with the fileleaders, or else march out entirely without diuisiōn.

Entaxis.] Incision is alwayes of the light armed into the *spars* of the armed. It is all one with *pareutaxis*, another Greeke word vse in the same fence.

6. *Hypotaxis.*] Placing ^e of the light armed on the wings was much vied in ancient time, as the maner is also at this day : but *Aelian* would haue them so placed, that the eminency of them should make a hollow front in the battaile : *Patritius* taketh *Hypotaxis* to be the placing of the light armed in the *reare*, which seemeth to be a mistaking, both because the placing of them in the *reare* is in this Chapter called *Epitaxis*, and also because there being foure maners of ordering the light-armed, one in the *front*, another in the *reare*, the third *within the body of the Phalange* man to man, the fourth in the *wings* : if this ordering should be vnderstood to be *behinde* the Phalange, there would be two kinds of placing of the light armed in the *reare*, and none

The Tacticke of Aelian, or

of ordering them in the flanke : Besides, when *Aelian* saith, they are placed
 vñ *the wings* vñ *the battallie*, vnder the wings of the battell, he sufficiently exprefeth
 himſelfe, the flankeſ of the battallie on both ſides being the vtermoſt parts
 of the wings.

The vſe, and aduantage of theſe exerciſes of Armes.

C H A P. XXXIV.

 **H**eſe preceptes of turning about of faces, of wheeling, and double wheeling of the battallie, and of reducing it to the firſt poſture, are of grete vſe in (i) ſodaine approaches of the Enemy, whether he ſhew himſelfe on the right or left hand, or in the reare of our march. The like may be ſaid of Counter-marches, of which the Macedonians are held to be the inuen-ters of the Macedonian, the Lacedemonians of the Lacedemonian, from whom the Appellations are accordingly drawne. The Histories witneſſe, that Phillip (who much enlarged the Macedonian Kingdome, and ouer-came the Grecians in a battaile at Cheronæa, and made himſelfe Generall of Grecia) and likewife his Sonne Alexander, who in ſhort time conquered all Asia, made ſmall account of the Macedonian counter-march, vnfleſſe neceſſity forced it ; and that by vſe of the Lacedemonian, they both became vi-oriouſ over their enemies. For the Macedonian counter-march, the Enemy falling vpon the reare, is cauſe of great diſorder, in aſmuch as the hindermoſt marching vp to the front, and making ſhew of running away, it more incourageth and emboldeneth the Enemy to fall on, for feare and purſuit of the Enemy is ordinarily incident to this Counter-march : but the Lacedemonian counter-march is of contrary effect; for when the Enemy ſheweth himſelfe in the reare, the file-lea-ders with their followers brauely aduancing, and oppoſing themſelves, it striketh no ſmall feare and terror into their mindeſ.

N O T E S .

AL L the fourre motions of a battallie ; Facing, Counter-marching, Doubling, and Wheeling, are before handled : In this Chapter *Aelian* briefly rehearleth the vſe of them, eſpecially in

^a Against the front. **i.** Sodaine approaches of the Enemy.] If the Enemy come ſodainely vpon vs, he muſt direct himſelfe either againſt our front, or our reare, or our flankeſ. If ^b againſt our front, we neede no other motion then that whereby we may ſtrengthen our front, which is vſually done by doubling of rakes ; we march for the moft part in a herfe, in which forme there cannot come many hands to fight : and that is the reaſon why it is accounted the weakeſt forme to ioyn with the Enemy. **b** Doubling of rakes helpeth that defect, and bringeth as many hands to fight, as the proportion of forces will allow : If against the ^c reare, and time ſtreight you not, and your battallie be in open order, you haue the vſe of ^d counter-march, which bringeth the beſt hands to fight; for the File-lea-ders are eſteemed the flower of the Army : your battallie being in order or cloſe order, you are to ^e wheele it about to your right or left hand,

^a Against the front.

^b Doubling of rakes.

^c Against the reare.

^d counter-march.

^e Wheeling.

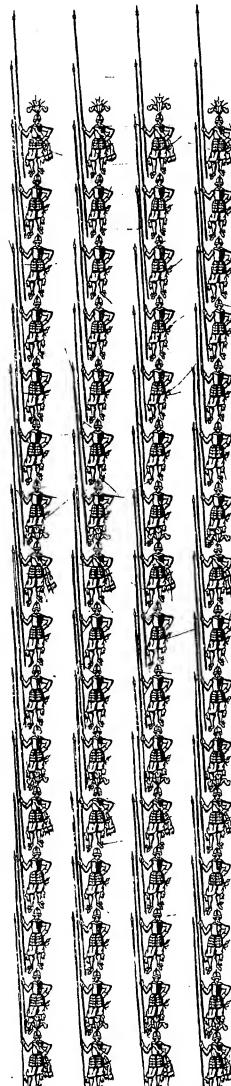
Cap. 32.

The action of wheeling



Cap. 32.
The manner of wheeling

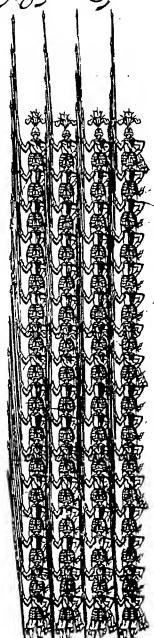
The first posture



Closing of files

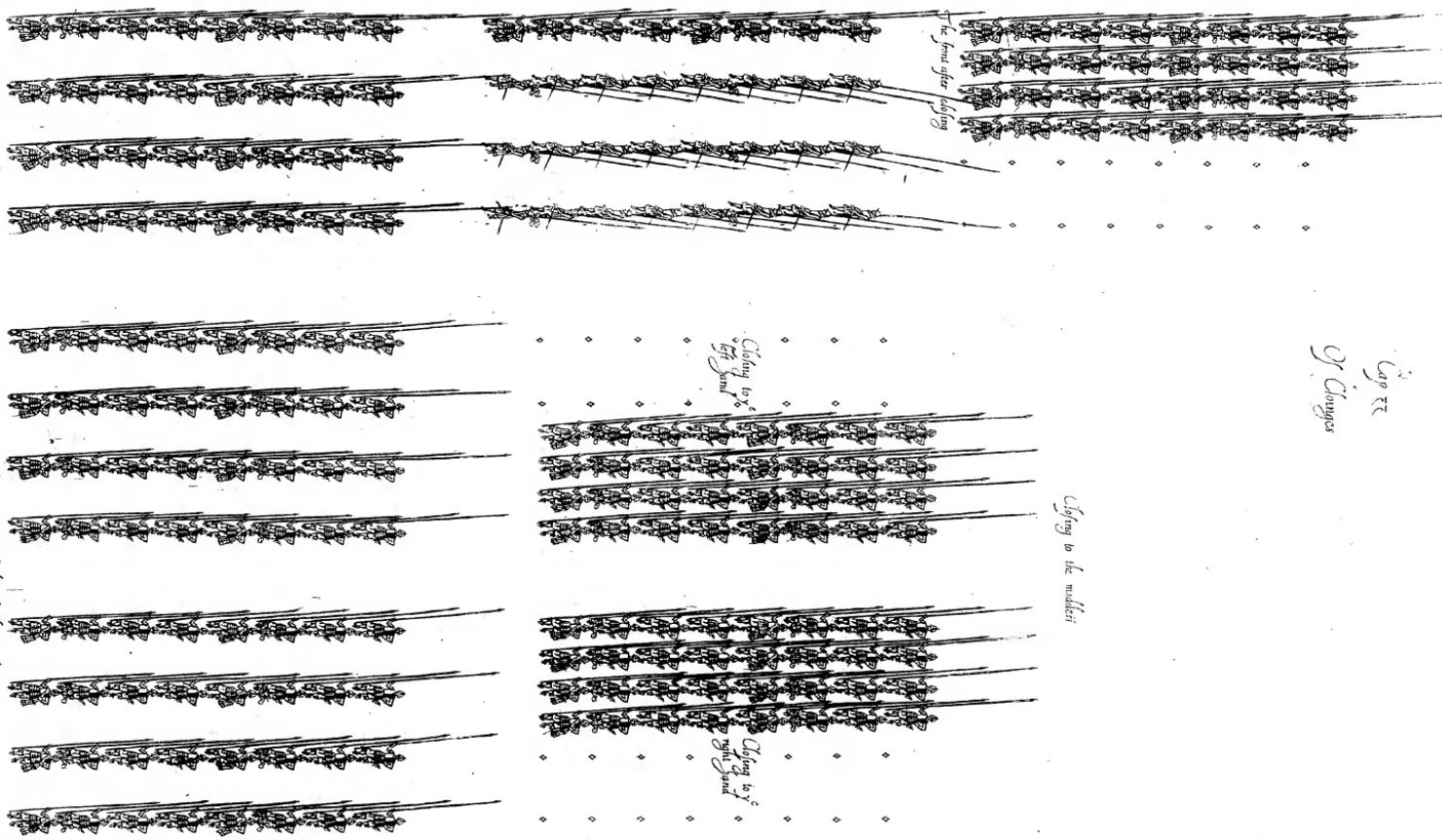


Closing of ranks forward



The Front

The front before closing



Y. Clingers
Cap 88

Closing to the masker

hand, and so to oppose the front against the Enemy. But in both these motions the caution of *Elian* is, that the Enemy surprize you not whilst you are in the action of *countermarch* or *wheeling*, lest taking his aduantage, hee charge you being in disorder. Therefore if he come so neare, that you haue no liberty to *countermarch* or *wheel*, your onely refuge is to *face about* to the Facing. right or left hand, for so he shall not be able to give vpon your backe: If the enemy appeare vpon any *flanke*, *countermarch* of the Front will not availe, much lesse doubling againt the flanke of ranks, or files, but you must either *wheel* your Front to the flanke, or if you haue not time enough so to doe, you are to *face* your battell to that hand: The vse of these motions hath been handled in their feuerall Chapters more at large.

*Of the Signes of Direction which are to be giuen to the Army, and
of their severall kindes.*

CHAP. XXXV.

(1)  E are to acquaint our Forces both Foot and Horse, perfectly with the (2) *voice*, and perfectly with (3) *visible signes*, that whatsoeuer is fitting, may be executed and done, as occasion shall require. (4) Some things also are to be denoued by the *Trumpet*: for to all directions will be fully accomplished, and sort to a desired effect. (5) The signes therefore which are deluered by *voice*, are most evident and cleere, if they haue no impediment. (6) But the most certaine and least tumultuous signes are such as are presented to the *eye*: if they be i. or obscured. The *voice* sometime cannot bee heard by reason of the clashing of armour, or trampling or reyng of Horses, or tumult of carriage, or noise and confused sound of the multitude. The *visible signes* also become many waies vncertaine, by thicknesse of ayre, by dust, by raine, or snow, or sun-shine, or else through ground that is vineau or ful of trees, or overturnings. And sometimes it will not be easie to find out *signes* for all vies, occasions eftsoones presenting new matter, to which a man is not accustomed: yet can it not so full out, that either by *voice*, or by *signall*, we should not giue sure and certaine direction.

NOTES.

The ordinary *motions* in a Phalange are all represented by *Elian*. Now commeth hee to speake of *Signes*, which direct, and are meanes of effecting all these *motions*, and without which the Army is no *Army*, but remains a body vngovernable, and may aptly be resembled to a Shippe that hath no rudder: For as a Ship in a tempest is driven by all windes, tossed by waues, throwne every way vpon rockes, vpon sands, vpon dangerous shoares, that is not guided by the Master, who standeth and moueth at the helme; So an Army not directed by *signes*, and forecast of the General, is carried away through ignorance and violence of affection, sometimes of anger, sometimes of feare, sometimes of reuenge, and other unbridled desires, and breaketh or else fal-

The Tacticke of Aelian, or

feth into confusion through disorder, working little against the enemy, nay rather giving him meanes of a certaine victory. The shippes like the Army, the General like the Master, the words of Direction like the Rudder, guiding all and every motion of the Army: For the Army being a body of many heads, whereof every one hath a severall sense, hangeth together not by the naturall coherence and knitting of one member to another, but by artificiall ioyning of man to man, file to file, body to body, whereby it is gathered together into one Massie, and figured into many members and ioynnts, and ruled not by the reasoun and judgement of it selfe, but by the reasoun and understanding of the General. So that no man is to demand why this or that is commanded, but is to execute it alone for this Cause, because it is commanded. The General then being to Command, and direct the actions of the whole Army, ought to finde out meanes to speake and discourse with them all at once, in such a language, as it were, that all may understand at once. For the occurrence of warre being oftentimes sudden, and once slipt by, irrecoverable, require sudden meanes of speedy direction, that nothing fall out so unlooked for, but the Army may haue notice how to preuent and auid, or else to turne it to their most advantage; the rather because in warre, safety and life come in question, in losse of which, no pardon of negligence can be admitted. And seeing there are two principall fences of aduertisement, the eare the one, the other the eye; the eare to heare all manner of soundes, the eye to discerne all manner of colours and shapes, it hath been the witty inuentions of antient Generals, to informe their Armies by the one, and by the other; by the eye when there was no vise of the eare; by the eare when the eye could not be informed: The true obseruation and vise of these signes availe much in warre. *Vigetius saith, that nothing profiteth more to victory, then to obey the admition of signes.* Former experiance hath taught, that the neglect or error of signes, hath brought in great inconueniences, and quite ouerthrowne the enterprizes in hand. ^a*Polybius remembreth it in Aratus the elder, a General of the Achaeans, Cratus, saith hee, the Generall of the Achaeans, seeking to get the Cyzicenian City by a plot, agreed with shose of his party within the Citie, upon a certain time to come by night to the riuer that runneth by Cynethe, where refreshing and stayng his Army a while, and that shose within taking their time, shold send about midday out of the gate secretly one of their compaines, to stand in a cloake by a hill appained, which was not farre from the Citie, to give aduertisement to Aratus to march on, and that the rest about that time shold lay hands upon the Polemarches, (that used to guard the gates) while they repised themselves and slept: And that this done, the Achaeans shold with all speed hasten to the gates, out of their ambusc. These things concluded, and the time approaching, Aratus came accordingly, and hiding himselfe by the riuer, awaited the signall: About the fiftieth hourre, one of the Citie an owner of sheep, that bore extraordinary fine wolle, & were vsually feeding about the Citie, came out of the City gate in a cloake, desirous to speake with the shepheard about some private busynesse of his owne, and standing upon the same hill, looked round about for the shepheard. Aratus and his folke imagining this to be the expected signall, ran in all hast toward the Citie; but because nothing was ready within, the gates were quickly shut, and not onely Aratus misst of his purpose, but the Citizens also that conspired with him, fell into great misfortunes, being taken with the manner, and presently brought forth and put to death. This may be an example of error and misprision of the signe: Of the neglect, and likewise of the like error and misprision, there is a notable example*

^a*Viget. l.3. c.5.*

^b*Fab. l.9. 555. B.*

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example in ^a*Cæsars Commentaries in the siege of Alecia, Where Cæsar having a Caesar debell. won the Enemies camp, lying upon a hill neare the Towne, founded a retreat to his Gall. l.7. 156.* army that was in fight: the Ensignes of the tenth legion made a stand, but the Souldiers of the other legions not hearing the sound of the trumpet, by reason of a valley, beyond which they were, were yet held backe by the Tribunes and Legats, as Cæsar had given direction. Notwithstanding, being puffed up with the hope of a speedy victory, and with the flight of the Enemy, and their happy battailes of former times, thinking nothing so hard that it might not be atchived by their valour, they made no end of their chace, till they came neare to the Wall, and Gates of the Towne; and some of them entring at a gate, others some climbing up the wall, imagined they had gotten possession of the towne. In the meane time the Enemies forces, whiche were busie in fortifying without on the other side of the towne, being acquainted therewith by message, sent their horse before, and followed after themselves, and in great numbers charged the Romans: The fight was hard, the enemy trusting to the aduantage of the place and to their number, the Romans to their valour, when on the sudden were seene on the open side of the Romans the Heduian Horse who serued in Cæsars Army, and were by him sent on the right hand to get up the hill another way: they by likewise of their armours put Cæsars souldiers in a great feare. And although it might easly be discernd, that their left shoulder was unarmed, which was the signe of such as were friends, yet the Romans conceiuied them to be enemies, and to use that deuise onely to over-reach and entrapp them: Being opprested on all hands, and ^b*Centurion slaine, Three were so Centurions in a Roman Legion.* 46 Centurions slaine, they were beaten from their ground with the losse of few lesse then 700 men. Cæsars Souldiers here offended in both kindest in the neglect of their Generals Command, which he gaue by signe, and in mistaking the signe, which was vsually for the Heduans to be knowne by. Cæsars iudgement of these two faults appeareth in his speech, which he made to his Army presently vpon the losse; In which he reprehended their rashnesse, in that they would needs take vpon them to iudge how farre they were to procede, and neither be held in with the signe of retreat that was gaue, or yet be commanded by the Tribunes and Legates. He shewed of what force the disaduantage of ground was, and what his opinion was before this time at Avaricum, where surpising the Enemy without Generall and Horse, he let an affred victory slip out of his hand, because he would not hazard, nor a small losse in fight upon inequality of ground. As much as he admired their braue minde and resolution, whom neither the fortifications of the Enemies Campe, nor the heights of the Mountaine, nor the wall of the Towne could hold backe; so much hee reprehended their presumption and arrogancy, in that about the victory and issue of things, they preferred their owne conceits before the opinion of their Generall: For his part he required swelle modesty and continencie in a Souldier, as valour and magnanimity.

So Cæsar insinuating that obedience and heedfulness were two principall vertues in a Souldier; by the one to be ready at all commandes, by the other to execute with discretion what was commanded: by want of heedfulness they perceiued not the signe of retreat which was proposed vnto them, and mistooke the marke of the Heduans, whom they esteemeid for their foes; by want of obedience to their Officers, they incurred the danger and losse which they sustainted: diligent care therefore is to be had of signes, by which the minde of the Generall in all directions is declared, and as it were set before the eyes of the whole Army.

The Inuentors of the *Signes of Warre* were many. The *Ensigne* was inuented by the *Egyptians*, as I haue shewed in my notes vpon the 9 chap. of this Booke,

The Tadiks of Aelian, or

* Fin natura.
Sif. 1.2.7.7.

Booke, where also the reasoun of the invention is giuen. *The order of an Army, the giuing of the signe, the watch, the watchword was invented by Palamedes, the trumpet by Tirrhenus the Sonne of Hercules.

To give signes to an Army pertaineth, as I haue shewed, to him that is the Gouvernor thereof, that is, to the Generall. The manner how signes were by him giuen, appeareth in ^bOnosander, I will recite his words : Let all signes, quoth he, (he meaning by voyce) and ^bsignes be delivered to the Officers of the Army; in so much as for a Generall to goe up and downe and proclaim the signe to all, is the part of an vnwise and unexperienced Man, and botchtime is lost in denouncing it, and it is often a cause of tumult, whilste every man asketh what the signe is. Besides, one addeth something to the Generals words, another diminisheth them through ignorance. ^a Leo hath almoft the same wordes, at leaste the same fense, and as I take it, hee borroweth them from Onosander. ^c Onosander addeth, It behoueth him to give the word to his highest Commanders, who are to deliuere it over to the next to themselves, and they to their next inferior Officers, till it come to the last; for so shall evry one speedily, decently, and quietlly know what is commanded. And this was the manner of the Grecians, as may appearre by Thucydides, who describing the vylage of the Lacedemonians in giuing the word and signes, of direction, hath thus, And presently the Lacedemonians ordered them selues in battaile, Agis the King commanding, as their law is; for when the King leadeth, all things are under his command, and hee giueth direction to the Polemarches, they to the Lechagi, who deliuere it to the Pentecosters, and they to the Enomarches, from whom the Souldiers of the Enomoties haue it.

This was then the manner of the Grecians. How the Romans did deliuere out their word you may finde in the sixt Booke of ^d Polybius. But because it pertaineth not to Aelian, who intreathet of the Grecian discipline alone, I remit the Reader to my marginall quotation. The signe was then deliuered from the superior Officers to the inferior, and from them to the Souldier: the kindes of signes that were deliuered are reckoned vp in this Chapter, being in number two; for they were prefente either to the eare or to the eye, to the eare, as all sounds, whether mans voice or trumpets, or other instruments of warre, which were presented for direction or motion of the Army. To the eye, as all mute signes (so they are called which haue no sound) which were set vp to the view of the Souldier for direction likewise: Both of these kinds were either ordinary or extraordinary; ordinary, which had daily vse in the Army, as the Trumpet, Ensignes, and such like, as serued for ordinary direction. Extraordinary, which were brought in as occasion was offered of new command: besides, some were deliuered openly, as the vocall, semivocall and mute signes, which by proclamation, found of instruments, or representation were set forth to the whole army at once; some priuily, as the word, and such like, which passed secrely from one to another, and were received priuately in the eare. This variety was invented, that in case one kinde failed, or would not serue, another might, as I haue noted before out of Suidas upon the ninth Chapter, and as Aelian teacheth in this Chapter.

The ends of signes are two, one to order and direct our owne forces, the other to distinguishe them from the Enemy.

^e Signe Vocallia. Because I haue before spoken of the diuersity of vocall and mute signes, it shall not be amisse here to shew the vse of them both by examples.

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And this is first to be noted, that the Grecians in gouerning their troopes, as much as they could, retained the vse of the voice. In publike directions they vied the voice of the Cryer; I haue before noted it vpon the 9 Chapt. If the command required secrecy, the Generall gaue it to his chiefe Commanders secretly by word: Of this kinde was the signe deliuered to discerne enemy from his owne souldiers in a battaile to be fought. ^a Xenophon writes, that at such time as Cyrus the younger and Artaxerxes were to ioyne battaile, Cyrus sitting on horse-backe a prettie distance from the Grecian troopes, heard a murmuring noise running along through their whole battaile, and asking Xenophon (who was then present with him) what noise it might be, and what it meant, Xenophon told him, that the Word was now given the second time: Hee wondering who had receaued the Word to the Enemy, desired to know what the new word was; Xenophon answered, it was Iupiter the Sauour and victory; which Cyrus hearing, I accept it, saith he, and let it be so. The murmur here mentioned arose out of the deliuering of the signe of the battaile, which being deliuered to the inferior Officers by Clearchus, the chiefe Commander of the Grecians, and the Officers communicating it to the Souldiers, and the Souldiers one to another, went thorough the whole body of the phalange with a soft and siluer noise of them, that whiperid it in the eares of their companions. Xenophon hath here set downe, that the word was Iupiter the Sauour and victory; In ^b another place he hath, Iupiter the Sauour and Hercules the guide, for the signe. To know who was an enemy who a friend, the souldiers meeting one ^cXenoph. de expt. 16.3.36.6. another demanded the signe; if they deliuered the word giuen by the Generall, they held them for friends, if otherwise, for enemies. ^d Polyn. telleth of ^e Polyn. 1.5. one Acus an Arcadian Generall, who commanded his Souldiers to kill him, whosoever he were that shoulde aske the word: so that he made the voice of the enemy serue for the word to his owne Souldiers. This signe was changed in every battaile, left, if still the same signes were vied, the Enemy might happily come to the knowledge of them, and so be taken for friend, vnder colour whereof much treason might be wrought: not much vnlke the signe giuen in a battell to be fought, is the watch-word by night, which was vtilly deliuered to the first Officers of the Army, and by them deriuied to the rest, and so brought downe to the Souldiers, and was no leſſe obserued in a Citie, then in the Campe; in both which the same forme of watching was held, save that in a Campe there were sentinels per due, as we term them at this day (the Grecians called them τετραπλευται) who stood and watched without the trench of the campe; whereas the Cities for the most part had sentinels watching onely vpon the wals or market-place, or other pieces of strength giuing to, and receyting the word from the rounders. And as the signes of battaile varied vpon occasion, as the last example specified, so the watch-words were often changed, for feare they might come to the notice of the enemy; for the Enemy hauing the Watch-word, might nourish spies in our Campe or Citie, and haue certaine intelligence of all, that passeth there, as being taken for friends, because they carried the markes and tokens of friends; and they were changed not onely at the reliefs of the watch, which time is the vfull moment of varying the word, but oftentimes after the same night, for feare that a Sentinel might be snatched vp without the Campe by an enemy, or else because of treason within, in reuealing the word to the enemy; oftentimes also they gaue a ^fdouble word, one to the sentinel, another to the round; and ^gPolyp. 1.9. 516. some-

The Tadiks of Aelian, or

^a Muret. 25. For the double signe and by-signe, v. Aene. 6. 24. 25. & Cae-sar. in his act. Aene. 6. 4. & 6. 6. 24. 25.

sometimes added a ⁴ mute signe, to the word, which kind they called ^{mezzy} Squa, as it were a by-signe: and these are all the secret signes by word, which I finde in the Grecian practise. For the other words, as the exhortation of the Generall to the Army, and the words of training deliuered by the Cryer to the Souldiers, (for euery Company had a Cryer, because his voice was stronger and louder then the Captaines,) they neither are secret, and seeme rather to be in the nature of Commands, then Signes. The single word of battell and watch, I find to bee called by no other name then ^{mezzy} Squa, if it were a double word ^{mezzy} Squa, if a mute signe were ioyned to the word ^{mezzy} Squa.

The voice then of a man was vsed for a signe either when secrecie was required, or else where the Crier might bee heard in discharging his duty by proclamation, because it was weake and could not extend to the hearing of ths whole Army, and many things required for publicke and quicke direction, Instruments of sound were brought in. Vegetius saith very well, Because a multitude cannot be governed by voice alone in the tumults of fight, and because many things are to bee commanded and done, according to necessity, the ancient use of all Nations found out, how the whole Army by signes might with speed have notice of, and follow that, which the Generall judged profitable for it. To helpe therefore the weakenesse of the voice, Instruments of sound were brought in, which were of three sorts amongst the Grecians, the Trumpet, the Flute, and the Harpe. The Flute was vsed by the Lacedemonians, the Harpe by the Cretans, (even to the ioyning of battaile) all other Grecians vsed the Trumpet. ^b And yet in the battaile during the time of fight, and in retreats, the Lacedemonians also vsed the trumpet. I haue noted it before vpon the 9 Chapter, where I haue also touched in what occasions and actions the trumpet was the signe. Now will I give some Presidents of the particulars thee remembred.

And first the Trumpet gaue the signe of removing the Campe; which appeareth by this precept of Leo, When you will remove your Campe without tumult, you are to giuen commandement over night. And againe, the same day in which you remoue, you are in the morning by day light to signifie the remoue by sound of the Trumpet three times, and then remoue, and the Leaders and the arm'd are to goe out first, then the wagons, if any bee, and then other things which are carried for the use of the Army. Thus Leo, for the remoue by day. By night, the Army of the Grecians that fought with Artaxerxes (as Xenophon reporteth) remoued after this sort. After the death of Cyrus, the Grecians that followed Cyrus, being in distresse, and pinched with want of al things, not knowing what course to take, and hauing a mesage from Ariens (a chiefe Persian Commander vnder Cyrus while he liued) to come and ioyne with him, that they might returne together to Ionia, from whence they first began to march, Clearchus the Principlall Commander of Grecian being determined to doe as Ariens counseled, and yet loth the enemy shold know of his departure, gaue these directions to the Army, This must de yoar course, faith hee, wee must goe every man to his lodging, and sup with such prouision as he hath, and when the Horne giue the signe to rest, trusse up your baggage, at the second signe lay it upon the carriage beasts, at the third every man follow his Leader. The Captaines and Coronels hearing this, did as they were commanded. This practise of Clearchus differeth not much from Leos precept; for hee vsed three sounds of the trumpet, and so Leo doth command: Clearchus yet further sheweth what was bee done at evry signe, which Leo pretermitteth, perhaps as a thing commonly knowne: Besides,

^a See my notes upon the 9 Chapter. ^b Diod. Sic. l. 13. 375.

^c Xenophon de exp. l. 2. 125.

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sides, Clearchus vsed all these signes for another end, then for which they were first instituted. The Grecians at euening discharged their workemen from their worke by sound of trumpeter, and that was called the signe of rest: then they diuided the night into four parts, which were called four watches, because their Sentinels were four times releaved in a night, and at every reliefe the Trumpeter sounded. Now the sounds of the Trumpet by night, Clearchus converted into signes for marching according to Lees prescription, and remoued his Campe, the enemy not perceiving it. Hence it appeareth then that the Campe was remoued by the sound of the Trumpet: And yet I finde that Alexander brought in an alteration about this signe of remouing: For ^a Curtius remembreth that Alexander at the first vsed it, but perceiving afterwards, that this signe could hardly be discerned by the whole Army, by reason of the noite and stirring of the multitude, thought it better to sticke downe a Pole, and vpon the top of it to hang a coloured cloth, to give his Army notice, that hee meant to remove, and euer after held himselfe to that signe.

The Trumpet likewise was the ^b signe of fight: And when all the Trumpets of the Army sounded, it was called ^c ad mactum, (in Latine Classum;) ^d ad paeam, ^e ad paeam, ^f ad paeam, ^g ad paeam, ^h ad paeam, ⁱ ad paeam, ^j ad paeam, ^k ad paeam, ^l ad paeam, ^m ad paeam, ⁿ ad paeam, ^o ad paeam, ^p ad paeam, ^q ad paeam, ^r ad paeam, ^s ad paeam, ^t ad paeam, ^u ad paeam, ^v ad paeam, ^w ad paeam, ^x ad paeam, ^y ad paeam, ^z ad paeam, ^{aa} ad paeam, ^{bb} ad paeam, ^{cc} ad paeam, ^{dd} ad paeam, ^{ee} ad paeam, ^{ff} ad paeam, ^{gg} ad paeam, ^{hh} ad paeam, ⁱⁱ ad paeam, ^{jj} ad paeam, ^{kk} ad paeam, ^{ll} ad paeam, ^{mm} ad paeam, ⁿⁿ ad paeam, ^{oo} ad paeam, ^{pp} ad paeam, ^{qq} ad paeam, ^{rr} ad paeam, ^{ss} ad paeam, ^{tt} ad paeam, ^{uu} ad paeam, ^{vv} ad paeam, ^{ww} ad paeam, ^{xx} ad paeam, ^{yy} ad paeam, ^{zz} ad paeam, ^{aa} ad paeam, ^{bb} ad paeam, ^{cc} ad paeam, ^{dd} ad paeam, ^{ee} ad paeam, ^{ff} ad paeam, ^{gg} ad paeam, ^{hh} ad paeam, ⁱⁱ ad paeam, ^{jj} ad 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The Tacticks of *Aelian*, or

The Trumpet finally was vied as a *signe* for the Army to stand, or to goe forward as the busynesse required. Albeit I must confessie, there were other vsuall signes besides the trumpet in this case: ** Leo saith, In exerce of Horse, when you are to moue the Body, you are to giue signe either with the voice alone, or with the Trumpet, or else with the boving downe of a Banerroll, and so to moue them. And if you would haue them to make ale, you are to doe it either with the voice, saying stand, or with the Trumpet or with the noise of a Targetbeaten upon with a sword.* The like he speakest of the exercise of foot in the same Chap, and after in the 9 Ch. he saith, *you shall command the Souldiers to stand, by knowing exactly the sound of the Trumpet, & againsto moue by the sound of the trumpet.* So that although other signes were giuen for marching & retreat, yet the most comon signe was by the Trumpet. Now we are to understand, that all signes giuen by sound to the eare (except by the voyce) are called *signa sonituaria*, because albeit their sound be lower and stronger for the most part then the voyce is, yet they are not articulated as is the sound of the voyce. Hitherto of signes that were giuen to the eare by the sound. Now are we to speake briefly of mute signes, or those that were set vp, as it were, a marse for the eye.

Mute signes were of two kinde: for either they were *simple*, and vied by themselves, as an obiect of the eye alone, or else they were *mixed*, and ioyned to signes of sound, and so communicated both to the eye and to the eare. Of the second sort were those whereof I haue spoken a little before, and they were called *mutus signe*, namely when a *mute signe* is added to a *vocal*: as when to the Word in the night is ioyned some speciall gesture of the body, as holding downe or nodding of the head, lifting vp the hand, putting off the hat, heaving vp the skirt of the garment, &c. concerning which see ⁴*Orosander* and ⁴*Ennas*. Of the first kinde were *signes presented to the eye* alone, which extended very largely, and serued where neither voyce nor trumpet could be heard by reason of the riuernesse of the place; these were calld *mutua signes properi*, and *mutua likewise*, becau'e it was agreed by the parties, who gaue and tooke them, that they shoulde haue such and such signification. The words be different, but the meaning and effect is all one; for as no *signe* can be, but there must be a giuer and a taker of the signes, so in that respect the signes called *mutua* by reason of the communication betwixt the giuer and taker of the signe, may aptly also be termed *mutua*. And albeit I noted before that the *signe of the battaille* and the *watchword* was calld by no other name but *mutua*, yet it *mutua* taken often for a *mute signe* also: Many occasions were of giving these signes, and they were sometimes shewen by day sometymes by night, and in the day time they were sometime propounded in the *battaille*, sometime in other places, where they might be perceived. ⁵*Carrian historie* of Alexander the Great, that at his being in the Country of the Taulantians, his enemies Clytus and Glauicias, had with many horse, darters, and bowmen, and not a few armed men, taken the Mountains and high places, by which he was to passe in returning. The place was for eight and wooddy, shut up on the one side with a riuier, on the other side with an exceeding high mountaine, the sides whereof were very steep, so that the Army could not march with more then fourt armed in front. Alexander marshallled his troopes to 120 in depth, and ordering 200 horse on each wing, he commanded silence, and heede to be taken to his directions: And first he willed the armed to aduance their pikes, then upon a signe giuen to let them fall, and charge, then to turne them close knit to the right hand, then

⁶*Am. li. 6.D.*

⁷*Emm. lib. 11. cap. 11.*

⁴*Ondord. c. 26.*
⁴*Ennas. c. 4.*

Mute signes.

the Art of Embattailing Armies.

to the left, and sometime he moued the battell quickly forward, and sometime he moued it to the one wing, sometime to the other. And so fashioning it into divers shapes in short time, and at last casting it into a wedge, as it were, he led it against the Enemys who stood wondering at the speedinesse and good order of the divers motions; and now perceiving the Armie to be led against them, abode not the charge, but left the hill, which he held, and fled. Here are mentioned seuen severall motions of the Phalange, which wee haue in pra xiiceat this day: 1 Advancing of Pikes, 2 charging of them, 3 first to the right hand, 4 then to the left hand, 5 moving of the battell forward, 6 moving it to the right wing, and then 7 to the left. And all these motions were directed by a signe; what this signe was, may be doubted, because it is not expressed whether it was by voyce, trumpeter, or a mute signe. For my part I would not take it to haue beeene by voyce; for how could the voyce be heard in so great an Army as Alexander had (which according to ^t*Diodorus Siculus* consisted of 30000 foot and 3000 horse) and was stretched out in depth, and had but foure armed in front: nor yet would I ^t*Diodor. Sec. lxi.* imagine it to haue beeene giuen by trumpeter; because though perhaps the trumpet might be heard of all the Army, by reason of the Echo rebounding from the Mountaine and riuier, yet could it not fitly and cleerly distinguish the sound that shoulde direct these seuen severall motions: I haue before declared in what case the trumpet was employed. Let me with leue therefore thinkne, that it was a *mute signe* presented to the eye; as for the purpose a *Coate*, or oþer garment fastned to the end of a long stafe, the colour whereof being eminent, and the stafe being lifted aloft might be perceaved by the whole Army. The signe then advanced to the full height, might signifie advancing of Pikes, which was the *first motion*. Being abafed and held leuell before the front, charging to the front, which was the *second motion*; held out leuell to the right flanke charging to the right hand, to the left flanke, charging to the left hand; which were the third and fourth motions of *Alexander*: moving forward in front, it might be a signe for the battell to follow, which was the fifth. Moving to the right hand, for the battell to march to the right, which was the sixth: to the left, for the battell to move to the left, which was the seventh; which motion might more easily be performed, in case the ensignes of the particular Companies tooke their direction from the *mutine signe*, and so framed themselves to the same motions, and the Souldiers to the motions of their Ensignes: This I say is my conjecture, wherein notwithstanding I preuidice no mans opinion, but leue every man to his owne conceit and fence. ⁵*Xenophon* relateth a notable example of *Iphicrates* the Athenian, who being chosen *Admirall by the Citie*, as soone as he began to take the Sea with ⁵*Xenoph. lib. 5. cap. 1. 6. 5. 6. C.* his *Nauie*, both at once fuled, and also prepared all things necessary for Sea-fight: for he left at home the greater suiles, as one that sailed forth to fight, and seldom used the greater suiles, were the windes never so faire, but busting forward with the oare, he both made the bodies of his men strong and healty, and the Nauie gained a speedier way: and oftentimes where he meant to dine, there would he draw his whole *Nauie* from the shorē in a wing, and turning them about, and addressing their proues to ⁶*A single file.* the land, give a signe for the shps to hasten with all celerity to the land, every one as it could. It was a great reward and victory for hys that came first to land, to water, and take all thing they needed, as also to dine, and a great punishment to the flaggards to want these commodities, and besides to put to sea again, when the signe was giuen: for the first did all things at case, and as they list, the last were straighly with hys, and must

The Tacticke of Elian, or

must doe as they could. When, by chance he dined in the enemies Country, he set out Sentinels some upon land as he wouled, other upon ships rearing vp the Mats, that from them they might take a view of all things: for those being placed in a higher station, might easily discerne and see further, then the other standing upon even ground: whereoeuer he supped and slept, he suffered no fires to be made in the Campe by night, but held light before the Campe, that no man might have access to it without discouery. Often times in faire weather, he woulde sup, bate out to sea againe, and in case there were a fresh gale, sailed forward, and the sailors in the meane time, gaue themselves to rest: when hast was needfull he releaved the stylers by turns, and in the day time upon signes led sometimes in a wing, some times in a phalange.

* Am. question.

Xenoph. Hist. grec.
16.587. C.

* Leo c. 19. §. 40.

* Leo c. 13. §. 42.
* Imitatio.

* Leo c. 19. §. 42.

That thefe were *mute signes* from the Admirall ship (beneath that, the word *optato* importeth so much for the moft part no man I think acquainted with Sea-service will make queſtion, confidering that both *vowe* and *trumpe* eafily give place to the whiffling of windes and roaring of tempeſts, and raving of waues of the Sea. To lay nothing of the diſtance of one ſhip from another, nor of the tumult and cry of Mariners, or ſound of oares (for in thoſe times ſea-fights were altogether in Galiles driven with oares) which make them incapable of direction by any other kinde of ſign. And for theſe *mute signes* to be given by ſea, I meane, of what kinde they should be, and to what end, and in what manner deliuereſt, I thinke good to cite the words of the Empereur *Leo*, which found thus: ‘*Let there be ſaſh he, in your Galley a ſigne ſtandin: in ſome eminent place, either an enſigne, or ſome buncall, or ſome ſueb like, wherewiþ after you haue ſignified what is to be done, your direction may ſtrake be underſtood and execuſed, whether you would haue your ſigne to gaue charge, or retire from the Enemy, or to marcher to encounter the enemy, or to haue to retiue ſome of your owne party diſtrefſed, or ſlacke or quicken their aduancing, or lay or avoid an ambuſh, or ſuch like: that they ſeeing the ſignes from your ſhip, may receive direction what is to be done.*’ And a little after he declareth the manner and vage of theſe ſignes, ſaying; ‘*Let the ſigne be ſhowne either ſtanding upright, or inclining to the right or left hand, or lifte aloft, or let fall low, or be taken cleane away, or tranported to another place, or changing by making the head of it appear in diuers formes by adding other ſhapes of colour ſunto it, as was vſed by the antiques. For their manner was in the day of battaile to rearre vp a red colourd figure, which they called *eminis*, and it was nothing elſe but a peice of red cloath extreame upon a long ſtaffe, and ſuch like; but it may be more ſafely deliuereſt by your owne hand, I thought good to cite theſe paſſages of *Leo*, the rather to gaue light to the place laſt beforecited out of *Zenophon*. For out of this precept of *Leo* the praefte of *Iphicrates* his motions may more perpicioouly appear.*

* Diod. Sic. 13. 372.

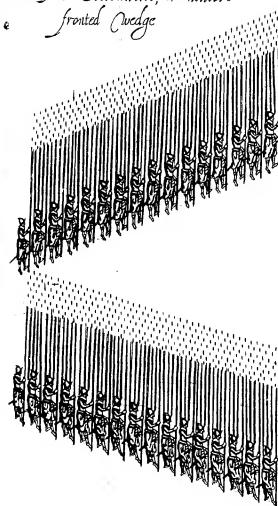
Now that theſe red colourd ſignes, and ſignes of other colours alſo were uſed in fightes on land, & *Polybius* ſheweth in the batteſt betweene *Antigonus* the Macedonian King, and *Cleomenes* the King of Sparta. *Antigonus* Army conſifted of diuers nations, Macedonians, Arians, Galatians, Achaeans, Baetians, Epirotes, Arcamans, Illyrians. *Cleomenes* his enemy had taken and fortified all the freight paſſages which led into the territory of the Lacedemonians (for thither did *Antigonus* bend his iuinaſion) and ſo diſpoſed his forces that *Antigonus* could not paſſe without fight: Hereupon *Antigonus* reſolved to fight, and becauſe his fight was to be ordered in and againſt diuers places, and at diuers times, as his advantage fell out, he gaue diuers ſignes to hiſ different people, when to give on: ‘*The ſigne to the Illyrians was, then to charge vp*

* *Idem* ſupra.

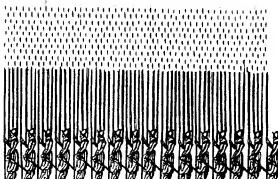
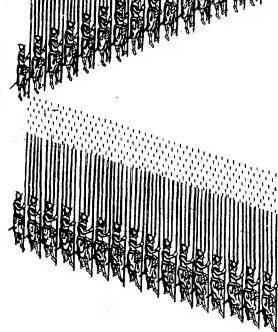
the ſtaffe’

Cap. 30.

The Coelumbos, or hollow
fronted Ordeſe



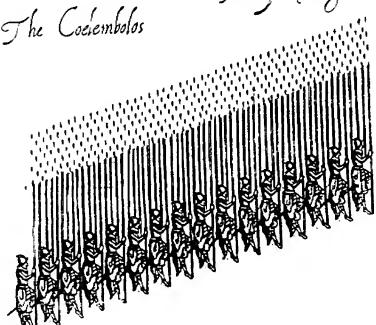
The front



The right Induction

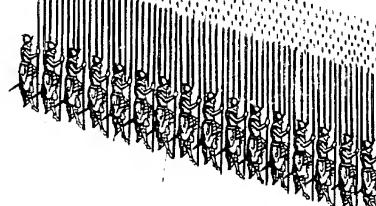
Cap. 36.

The Coelembolos



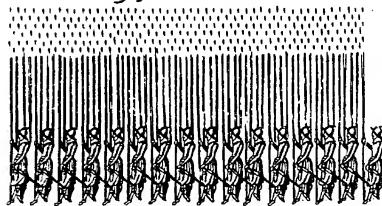
The left wing

The front

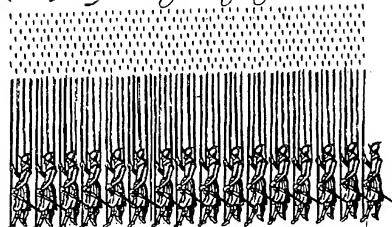


The right wing

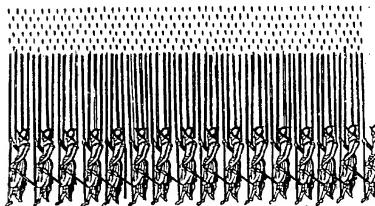
The Phalange set against f. left wing
of y^r Coelembolos



The forbearing Phalange



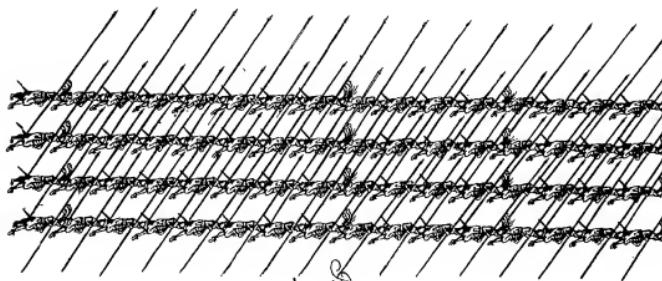
The Phalange set against f. right wing
of y^r Coelembolos



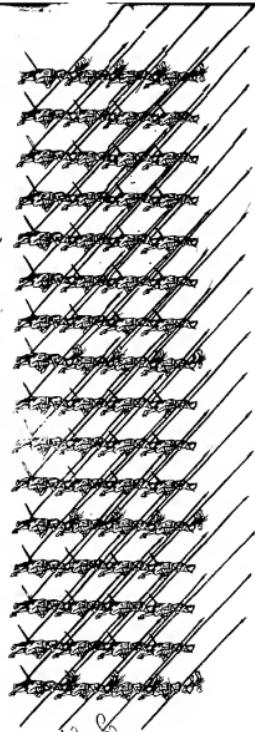
Cap 36.

The File leaders

A Distribution to the
left hand

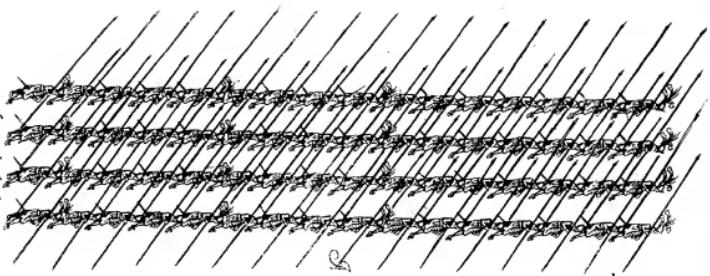


A right and sufficient
file front



A Distribution to the
right hand

The File leaders



the hill, when they saw a white linnen cloath held vp from the place about Olym-pas, to the Megalopolitans and horse, when they saw the King lift vp a purple garment. ^a Cesar commanded his Souldiers not to fight without his direction, say-ing, he would give a signe with an ensigne, when he would haue them begin. And al-^{a cesar h. de b. 323.} civil 323, beit the colour of red was vsed for the most part in Signals, yet was not the party that gaue the signe precisely tyed to any colour: it was enough if the signe night give notice of the Generals intent to them, whom it concerned: the first ^b Ptolomie gaue a signe to his Naue to begin the fight by hoistting vp ^{b Diod. Sic. l. 20.} a quicke Target in his Admirall galley, ^c other with holding vp or shaking their ^{759.} garment, or their hand, or with wearing some unusuall marke vpon a horfe, vpon ^{c Veger. l. 3. c. 5.} Armies, vpon vestures, or such like. This is to be noted for a generall rule, that when you finde in history a signe was giuen at a great distance, and it is not expresed what signe it was, you must understand that it was a mute signe presented to the eye, because the fence of hearing is feeble, and not able to discerne farre off. Hitherto of mute signes giuen by day. In the night, when all was couered with darknesse, and the vse of sight taken away, the vsuall manner was to giue a signe by flame of fire, which manner of signall might be descried in the night, being the darknesse newer so great: ^d Scipio Africanus ^{d Appian in His-} the yourger, hauing enclosed Numintia round about with a trench and ram-pier, commanded that if the Enemy fell out upon any part of his fortification, a red peecce of cloath should be held out by day vpon a long staffe, a flaming fire by night, that himselfe or his chiefe officers might come to succour. The like shall you finde in ^e Cefars Commentaries and ^f Q. Curtius and in other Historiographers both ^{See Veger. l. 3. c. 5.} Greeke and Latine.

These were the signes vsed in the battell, and in the Campe: without the Campe were set Sentinels both horse and foot to fore-warne and giue aduertisement to the Generall of the Enemies approach. To these oftentimes the Generall ^g gaue a signe amongst themselues, and they by signes signified what was done abroad: For the manner of placing these Sentinels, see ^h Eneas. The signes themselues were such as might be discerned by the eye, and of that kinde and forme whereof I haue made mention already.

Of Marching, and of the diuers kind of battells fit for a march. And first of the right induction, of the Calembolos, and of the Triphalange to be opposed against it.

CHAP. XXXVI.

(1) **B**eing now to speake of marching, I will first giue to vnderstand that some kinde of march is a (2) right-induction, othersome a (3) deduction on the right or left hand, and that in a single, or double, or treble, or quadruple fisted battell: In a single, when one Enemy is feared, in a double, when two in a treble, when three in a quadruple, when the Enemy purposeth to giue on all sides. Therefore the March is vndertaken sometimes in a single, sometimes in a double, or in a three-fold, or in a fourefold phalange.

(4) A right induction is, when one body of the same kinde followeth another; as if a Xenagy lead, the rest follow Xenage-wise; or if a Tetrarchy

lead, the rest follow according to that forme. It is so called when the march stretcheth it selfe forth into a *wing*, hauing the *depth* many times exceeding the *length*.

Against it is opposed the *Cælembolos* or *hollow-medge*, which is framed when the *Antifomus diphalange* disioyneth the leading wings, closing the reare in forme of the letter V, as the figure after doth teach, in which the front is disfeuered, and the reare ioyned and knit together: for the right induction pointing at the *misf* of the Enemies battell, the Cælembolos quickly opening before, serueth both to frustrate the charge of the front of the induction, and to *clasp in* and circumuent the flanke thereof.

Furthermore Triphalange is to be set against the Cælembolos, one Phalange fighting against one wing of the Cælembolos, the second against the other, and the middle or third phalange forbearing, and expecting a time fit to charge.

NOTES.

2. Some kinde of March is a right Induction.) The expectation of the enemies approach is oftentimes a cause of varying th. kindes of march: if he always appeared in front, there should need no other proceeding then with the file-leaders in front: because he seekes his advantage, and in the March sometimes attacheth the reare, sometimes one flanke, sometimes another, the Grecians to prouide for all attempts, so ordered their March, that wherefoeuer they feared the enemies giving on, there they opposed the file-leaders, as the best men of the Armie, and most able to receive the affront: yet for the most part the March was undertaken in a right induction,

that is, without inverting the ordinary kind of file-leading in front, which also is our manner of marching at this day. But yet sometimes in a

3. *Deduction* on the right or left hand.] There is but one kind of right induction, *viz.* a march, that hath the file-leaders in the front. Of Deductions there are 2 kinds; one to the *right*, the other to the *left hand*. And because the file-leaders march on the right or left hand flank, not in front; therefore the one is called a *right hand deduction*; the other a *left hand deduction*. So that not the body which continueth or beginneth the march, but the place of the file-leaders in the march, makes the difference betwixt Induction and Deduction. What the Vse of Deduction is, we shall see in the next Chapter.

4. *A right Induction is.]* Elian describeth the right Induction by the marching of several bodies of one kind one after another; as if a Xenagy lead all the rest of the forces to bee separated into Xenagies, and singly one after another to follow the first leading Xenagy; so of other bodies lesser or greater. Notwithstanding in a right Induction, wee must take this caution without all; that the *file-leaders* proceed in the *front*; for otherwise if they bee placed in the *flanke*, it is now no *induction*, but a *deduction*, howsouer the several bodies of a kind follow one another.

The Tacticks of Aelian, or

first a Company drawne into file, and so standing; then 299 Companies fashioned into files, and laid flank-e-wise to the first, and so marching as long as the ground would permit: The ground afterward being capable of no more than 10 in front, the Chilliarchy of the right hand was drawne forth to leade the march, which consisted of 10 Companies, the Body being 10 in front, and 100 in depth: The rest of all the Chilliarchies followed the Reare one of another in the same order: comming to a place where Alto was to be made, the first Taxiarch drew out his Company by 12, placing the first file leader in front with the first 12 of the file, and fleeing vp the Dodecadarch of the same file to Front with the file leader, and the hindermost 12 of them that followed him to ranke with the former halfe file; the like was done by the 3 other files, so that each Taxis had 8 in Front, and 12 in depth, and there being 5000 men in that Army, the whole Army comprehended 300 Taxis, the halfe files of 12 a peece, amount to the number of 240: so many men in number also making the Front of the Army. And for the leading of the first Chilliarchy in the straight way, and the rest following in the like forme, it was an induction, which notwithstanding after eth from Aelian induction,

Aelian Chilliarchy in the induction requir eth the file leaders in front, this dispersed them in the whole body, Aelian Chilliarchy would haue had but 16 in depth, this had 100. For marching in like manner with the Captains before, and the single files of a Company cast into one file after them, I finde another example in Xenophon. The elder Cyrus being to invade Assyria by night, directeth his Army thus;

Let vs haue with the carriage beasts and waggons, such as are fittest for that service, and let Crotias be their Leader, because he is both skillfull in the waies, and otherwaise sufficient for any affaire of Commande: And let vs set forward with the best and most able horse and foot, carrying vs victuals for three daies: for the lighter, and with the lesse cumber wee shall appoint our selues, with so much the more pleasure the after passing daies shall we dine, suppe, and sleepe.

a X. neph. Ciro. 45. 103. B.

b Dogenesius.

c Ep. 103.

d Pleum is a hollow square battallie.

Now let the march bee ordered in this manner: First, let Chrytuchas lead the armed foote with all their Captaines in Front, as long as the way is even and broad; and let every Company bee or acred in d^r depth soldier after soldier file-wise; for the cloſer wee put our selues together, the sooner and safer shall wee end our march. I haue cause why I would haue the Armed foote before, c, is in regard they are the braniest of the Army, and when the heauiest goe before, the light muste needs follow a^r cuse. But when the lightest lead, especially in the night, it is no manerly f^r to bee senried and distractred, the light easilie slipping away, and haſteing in the Vaunt. Next unto these, let Artabazus lead the Targetiers and Archers of the Persians, and Andramias the Median, the Median footemen next, then let Enbas follow with the Armenian foot, and Artuchas after him with the Hircanian, and next Thambradas with the Sacan foote, then Damatas with the Cadusian, and let all these march with the Captaines in front, and on the right flanke of their ^d Pleum the Targetiers (or Peltasts) the Archers on their left; for so shall they better ſecond one another. After theſe let the whole baggage march, the Commanders whereof must bee careful to haue all things ready before they ſleepe, and early in the morning to bee at the appointed place with their furniture, and decently to march forward. After the baggage let Madatas the Persian lead the Persian Horſe with their Captaines in front, and let the Captaines order their Companies in a file, as the foot Captaines did: Next after theſe Rambaces the Median, in the ſame ſort the Horſe which bee commandeth: Then you Tygracues your horſe: Then the other

the Art of Embaitailing Armies.

other Horſe Captaines every one the Horſe with which they ſerue mee. And as the Caſdians came laſt to my ſervice, let them close up the rearre of the Army: Thus Xenophon.

The paſſage is ſomewhat long, but I thought good to recite it, because it containeth the order of night marches vſuall of old time. First, the armeſt foote march every Nation after other, as long as the ground would giue leaue, in a ſquare battell framed of Company laid to Company, every Company drawne out into a file, the Targetiers on the one flanke, the Archers on the other: then the carriage: laſt of all the Horſe. The reaſon is added why the ſloweſt haue the Vaunt, namely, leſt in the night, when all things (ſaith the ſame Xenophon) are to bee underſtoode and done by direſtion to the eare, and not to the eye, the Horſemen or light armeſt (who are nimble & quick, the Horſemen by reaſon of the Horſe that carry them, the light armeſt, becauſe they are troubled with no weight of Armes) leading, they might haue pitié with their ſpeeđe out-goe, and leaue the heauy armeſt behinde, who beeing burdened with the heauiness of their Armes, can march but flowly.

But my principall end was to ſhew, that the file-leadeſt in an induction, are not alwaies placed in Front; I will addle one exampel out of Xenophon more to the ſame purpoſe; *When the Grecians that followed Cyrus the younger into Persia, returned toward their Country, they came as farre as the riuere Phis, at which the ſafe brother of Cyrus and Artaxerxes, leading from Sufa and Ecbatana a mighty Army with him, to giue aid to the King, met the Grecians, and cauſing his own Army to make alto, hee rooke into of the Grecians as they paſſed by.* ^{a Xen. de exp. 13. B. 183. D.} Clearchus led his Army ^b in Front, and in his march oftentimes made alto. As long as the ^b rythm was obſerved, the Army ſtied, ſo long the Reare muſt likewiſe ſtay. So that the Grecians were of opinion they had a great Army; and the Perlian was abafhed at the ſight of ſuſh a multitude.

Whether this march were Aelian right Induction, a man would doubt, because it is not exprefſed by Xenophon particularly how the bodies of the Phalange did march: onely hee ſaith, that Clearchus led ^c in b^r in b^r bins ſaith the Latine tranſlation: I interpret it ^d in Front. For two in depth it could not be, because Xenophon ſpeaketh of a ſland made oftentimes by the Vaunt which cauſed the Reare to ſtay. And had the Army beeene but 2 in depth, it had bee all Vaunt, the 1000 Grecians beeing ordered into two ranks and no more, each of them being 5000 men: beſides that, the Perlian wondered at the multitude which paſſed by him in flanke; which flank, if it had conſifted of no more then two, his wonder would ſoon haue ended. But Clearchus vſed Art to make his number ſeeme greater, and being but 2 in Front, they muſt needs be 5000 in file, to which 5000 giuing 6 foot a peece for their open order, the ground wil contain 30000 foot in depth, which amount to ſix miles of ours. The viſage of the Lacedemonians was to march ſometimes with ^e in Front, if the way were ſtraight. So did Dercyllidas in Asia the leſſe, ^f pace, 30000 foot, are 6 miles, 1000 paces making a mile.

^f Five foot make a pace, 30000 foot, are 6 miles, 1000 paces making a mile.

So ^b Archidamus the ſonne of Ageſilaus, advancing againſt the Arcadians by a cart ſpace, may that le^r to Cromnum, ordered his Army ^c in front, as then his march ſet out. When they approached one to another, Archidamus his army being in a wing by reaſon

The Tacticks of Aelian, or

of the strecthesse of the way, the Archadians in a broad-fronted phalange, with tay-gets close faced together, the Lacedemonians could not endure the charge of the Archadians, and forthwith both Archidamus was wounded through the high, and they slaine that fought before him. Hee saith that Archidamus marched two in front wing-wise by reason of the strecthesse of the way. In that he saith wing-wise, he sheweth the army was drawne out in depth, which is proper to an induction; and when he maketh the way the cause, he giueth a reason, why it so marched. But to retorne to that I first propounded, the inductions hitherto specified in the former examples seeme to differ from Aelians right-induction, as neither hauing all the file-leaders in front, nor yet single bodies of the same kindes one to follow another, the companies being each drawne into one file, and then two, or three, or foure, or more of these files laid together, according to the largenesse of the way, and the rest of the army following in the manner afore expressed.

5. Against it is opposed the Cælembolos.] The Cælembolos is a wedge hollow in front, and to be opposed against the right induction, saith Aelian. I haue noted before that it hath bee the manner of all famous Generals to fit the embattailing of their armies to the forme which the enemy vseth at the time of ioyning: and therefore it much concerneth the ^ Commander of an army to be skilfull in all formes, whicheare of true vise, and to know the aduantage that one carrieth against another. The right induction is, and alwayes hath bee the ordinary forme to march in. To order your troopes in an aduantagious forme against it, the Cælembolos was invented: It is called by the Grecians a *hollow wedge*, because it is not filled vp in the middest, but includeth a void space bias-wise in front betwixt the points of both wings, and ioyneth it selfe together in the reare. So that to one that shall view it behinde it seemes a plaine wedge, and yet in propriety of speech it cannot be called a *Wedge*; for a Wedge hath three sides and three points, and beareth the true forme of a triangle; and with the former point it chargeth the enemy, as hath bee showne in the horse-mans wedge. This hath but one point and two sides, neither doth it charge the enemy with the point, but receiuing the front of his battaile into the empty space, striketh vpon both the flankes thereof with the wings, it hath opened, and so seeketh to distresse it; the Cælembolos hauing this aduantage, that it fighteth with the best men, v.i.c. the file-leaders ordered in the inside of the wings thereof, not against the file-leader of the right induction, but against the weaker sort, who are ordinarily placed in the flankes thereof. The Latine names are more fit and significant to expresse the forme. By some it is called a ^b *paire of tongues*, by othersome a ^b *paire of heeres*, both appellations seruynge to set forth the right forme of the Cælembolos: for the one and the other open their foremost parts to a pretty distance, and the hinder parts, which are pinned and fastened together, end in a narrow point, as doth the Cælembolos. And they were so fare from termaining it a wedge, that they held it the best forme to receiue and frustrate the charge of the true wedge, as may be seene in ^a Vegetius.

^a Onward. 6.16.

^b *Forcep Veget.*
l.3. c.18. 19.
^c *A. Gallus l.10.*
e.9. forser.

^a *Veg. l.10. c.18*

6. Which is framed when.] The fashioning of the Cælembolos springeth out the Diphalange Antistomus. What that Diphalange is, we shall see in the 40 chapter of this booke. Thus much I may before-hand signifie, that

the Art of Embattailing Armies.

the file-leaders ought to be placed within the hollow flanks of the Cælembolos, as it were a lyning to the insides; and the Di-phalange Antistomus being once framed (which is to haue the file-leaders in the middest from the one end of the battaile to the other) there needeth no further labour, then to dispatch the *front* in the middest (leaving the file-leaders on both sides) and to fasten and ioyne together the *reare*, to the end that the front of the *right induction* may enter into the hollownesse, but yet be mashed, as were in a net, and neither able to passe through the reare of the Cælembolos, being close shut, nor yet to giue offence to those that fight in the front of the Cælembolos, hauing no man whom they may charge in the void space; nor yet daring to break the forme of their battaile after ioyning. For it is a good observation of ^a Vegetius, that in fight the manner of your embattailing is not to be ^b *Veg. l.10. c.18.* changed, nor any number of So. & liers to be transported to other places then they haue: *Xanaph-Cyrop.* For hereof sumtum and confusio will streight arise, and the enemy will easily take aduantage of such as are not ready or fall out to be disordered. I haue said that the Latines and Grecians differ in the name of this battaile, howbeit they agree both about the forme, which may here appear by Aelian, who resembleth it to the letter V, neither can there a better resemblance be made; for as the letter V consisteth of two lines which are open in the top, close in the botome, so doth this forme of battaile of two sides, which in front are void, open, and disceuered, in the reare ioyned and closed fast together. If you will therefore frame this battaile, you must first make a square, the file-leaders being all in front; then must you wheele the wings of your battaile into the middest, and so your file-leaders shall be in the middest; lastly, you are to open the front of your battaile, leauing halfe the file-leaders in the inside of one flanke, and halfe in the inside of the other, keeping the reare close knit tog her: and for the opening, it ought to be somewhat more then will receive into the void space the front of the *right induction*, which being once let in, the inward two flanks of the wedge where the file-leaders are, ought to face to both hands, and to charge the outward flanks of the right induction, and so circumuen them.

7. Furthermore, a Triphalange.] A Triphalange in this place of Aelian is, when a square body or phalange is from front to reare diuided into three parts. The figure shewes the manner. The Triphalange hath as much aduantage against the Cælembolos, as the Cælembolos had against the right induction. The Cælembolos compelled the *right induction* to fight with the worst men, and auoided the affront of the file-leaders, which were the best. The Triphalange hauing the file-leaders in front, opposeth two severall fronts: against the two wings of the Cælembolos, where there are no file-leaders (for they are alwayes disposed for the inside) and both auoideth the aduantage the Cælembolos fought, and maketh the Cælembolos fight with the worst men, in as much as one of the Phalanges chargeth the front of one wing of the Cælembolos, the file-leaders whereof are in flanke within the hollownesse, the other chargeth the other. Now it hath this aduantage besides, that it sparing refuseth for all occasions, by off-holding the third Phalange. If the Cælembolos be beaten by the two opposing Phalanges, all is lost, and no hope left of winning the field, no other forces being to second it, where notwithstanding the Cælembolos hauing gotten the better, may be curbed, and the victory arrested by this refusarie, and by the remnant of the other two Phalanges broken.

Works

The Tacticks of Elian, or

Words of direction in the right induction.

- { 1. The right-corner Xenagy march out
 { 2. The rest follow in Xenages } So is it of all other bodies, if
 they begin the march.

Direction for the Cælembolos.

- { 1. Wheele the wings of your battaile into the So shall the file-leader be
 middest of your body — } in the middest; but we
 must note that the two
 midlemost leaders must
 be centors for the other
 to wheele about.
 2. Open your front to the right and left hand,
 keeping your Reare close.

For the Triphalange.

1. The two wings face to the right and left hand, the middle remaining
 as it was.
 2. March out to the distance required: } That is, to be able to meet in a
 right line the two fronts of
 the wings of the Cælembolo-
 los.
 3. Stand, } When they come to the place
 required.
 4. Face as you were.
 5. Advance and charge.

Of Paragege or deduction.

C H A P. XXXVII.

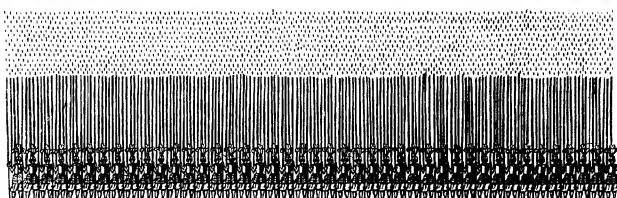
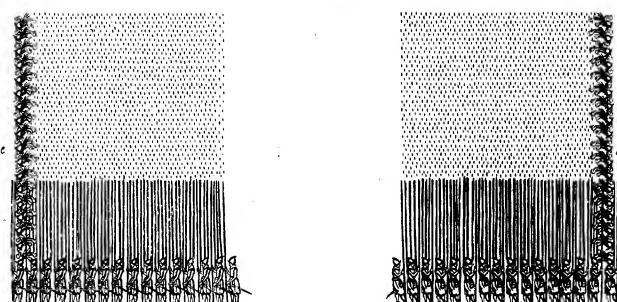
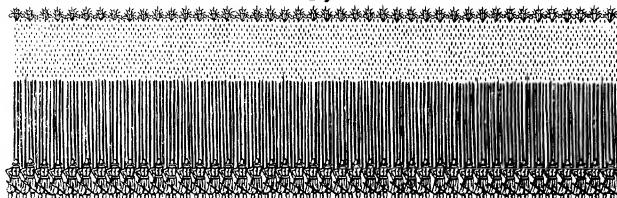
- (1)  *A deduge or deduction is when the Phalange proceedeth in a wing, not by (5) file, but by ranke, having the commanders or file-leaders either on the right-hand, which is called a right hand deduction, or on the left hand, which is a left hand deduction. For the Phalange marcheth in a (4) double, treble, or quadruple front, according to the place or part it is suspeted the enemy will give on. And both the paragogies beginning the fight in flanke, doe (5) make the length double to the depth. This forme of fight was devised to teach a Soldier to recceive heedfully the charge of the enemy, not onely in front but also in flanke.*

N O T E S.

- (1) **D**eduction is when the Phalange.] Induction is spoken of, Deduction followeth, which is the second kinde of march. For there are no other

Cap. 37.
*A fourc fronted Phalange against
 all attempts of the Enemy*

The Front of y^e rear



The Front of the March

other kinds then Induction and Deduction : the one with the file-leaders in front, the other with the file-leaders in flank. Neither doth the greatness or smallnesse of the body make any difference herein ; be the body neuer so great (as is the Phalange) or so small (as one Company) yet must the file-leaders either lead, or else be in flank of the march. The reare in necessity may well be made good by the bringers vp. Deduction is the mother of many formes of battailes vsuall in marches : from it come the Cælembolos, whereof we speake before ; from it are the Antistomus, the Peristomus, the Homoistomus, the Heterostomus, of which hereafter.

2 When the Phalange proceedeth in a wing.] Suidas hath, that Paragoge or deduction is said to be when the phalange marcheth with the file-leaders on the right or left hand ; if on the left, it is said to be a left-hand deduction ; if on the right, a right-hand deduction. He maketh no mention of a wing as *Aelian* doth ; for it may so fall out, that the body may be such as hath the depth and breadth all one, as a Xenagy which hath sixteene in breadth, and sixteene in depth : some bodies also, as the Taxics and Tetrarchies haue the depth lesse then the breadth, the first holding sixteen in depth & no more then eight in breadth, the last foure in breadth and sixteene in depth, so that they march not in a wing. But because marches for the most part are undertaken in a wing, it is the cause why *Aelian* saith that deductions proceed in a wing, the depth whereof manifoldly exceedeth the length, and they proceed.

3. Not by file but by ranke.] That is, the file-leaders being wheeled to the flank, after they haue settel themselues to march, proceed on their iourney as they stand in the flank, onely facing that way the march is intended, and returne not to lead in the front of the battaile, as they did at first. To lead by file is, when the file-leaders procede, and haue their files following at their backe. To lead by ranke is, when that which was the flank at first, becommeth the front, and beginneth the march, and the rest follow accordingly flank-wise : yet this is to be noted, that albeit the front of the battaile be changed in the deduction, yet remaine the files, files as they were before, and are not altered into ranke. *Aelian* himselfe giueth testimony hereto, affirming that the Phalange proceedeth not by file, but by ranke, whereas if the files held not their first name after wheeling to the right or left flank, the march forward (the file-leaders being in the flank) should be by file and not by ranke.

4. For the phalange marcheth in a double, treble, or quadruple side.] A double-sided battaile is that, which hath the file-leaders on both the flankes, the rest backe to backe within, when the enemy giueth on. For otherwise, when they march forward, all their faces are set one way, that is toward the place whether the march is intended. A treble-sided battaile is, when three sides of the battaile are to be charged, whether the front and both the flankes, or both the flankes and the reare, or the reare, one of the flankes, and the front, and the file-leaders are ordered on all the three sides. A quadruple battaile is, when the file-leaders are placed in front in the reare and in both the flankes. An example of the quadruple battaile will shew the vse and framing of the rest : for as the rest oppose one, two, or three sides against the enemy, so the quadruple fortifieth and strengthneth all the foure sides, by placing the file-leaders in them. Of ordering the file-leaders vpon one flank, deduction may be an example ; vpon both flankes, the Antistomus phalange vpon front and

The Tacticke of Ælian, or

and reare, the Amphistomus, on all foure sides, the Plesium, of all which occasion will be giuen to speake hereafter. Now I may signifie that the *Plesium* is a square hollow-battaile, the length whereof much exceedeth the depth, hauing the armed foot placed on all the foure sides, the light-armed throwne into the middest. The Græcians that followed *Cyrus* the yonger into Persia against King *Artaxerxes*, after their Coronels were taken prisoners and put to death by the subtily and periury of *Tissaphernes*, being but 10000, and to retreat thorow open and plaine grounds, in which they were like to be charged by an infinite number of horfe and foot, by the aduice of *Xenophon*, cast themselues into this forme; his words are in effect these, *Wee shall, it may be march in more safety, if we order our selues into a Plesium of armed foot, and giue the carriage and disarmed multitude a place of security within the holownesse of the battaile.* If therefore it be now resoluēd afore-hand, who shall command in the front of the *Plesium*, and take charge of *Vaunt*, who on the flanks, and who in the reare, we shall not neede to take aduise at the approach of the enemy, but put in execution that which is resoluēd before. And a little after: *And mine opinio : is, that Cherisophus is the fittest Commander for the Vaunt, because he is a Lacedemonian; and let two of the eldest Coronels take care of the Flankes; the yongest, namely my selfe and Tiniation, will looke to the reare.* This was *Xenophons* counsell, and in this forme they marched, and being charged afterward with both Persian Horse and foot, they defended themselues against all efforts of the Enemy. The quadruple battaile therefore was vsed, when the enemy was expected to giue on all sides; and he that can frame it, can easily cast his troopes into the other two formes; yet will not euery receiuing the enemy in flanke proue a Deduction; for in case of necessity and sudden approaches of the enemy, you shall be driuen to *Facing*, wherein you onely turne the faces of souldiers to the flanke without any deduction. See the figure of this battaile expressed in the picture.

5. Doe make the length double to the depth.] I suspect this place to be corrupted in the text of *Ælian*, the rather because before in the description of a Deduction, he saith that *Deductions* proceed in a *wing*, wherin the depth manifoldly exceedeth the length of the battaile, as the last fore-going chapter doth shew. Besides the example, which is giuen in the text is not of *double* proportion, but of *treble* and more, ten comprehending three, three times and more.

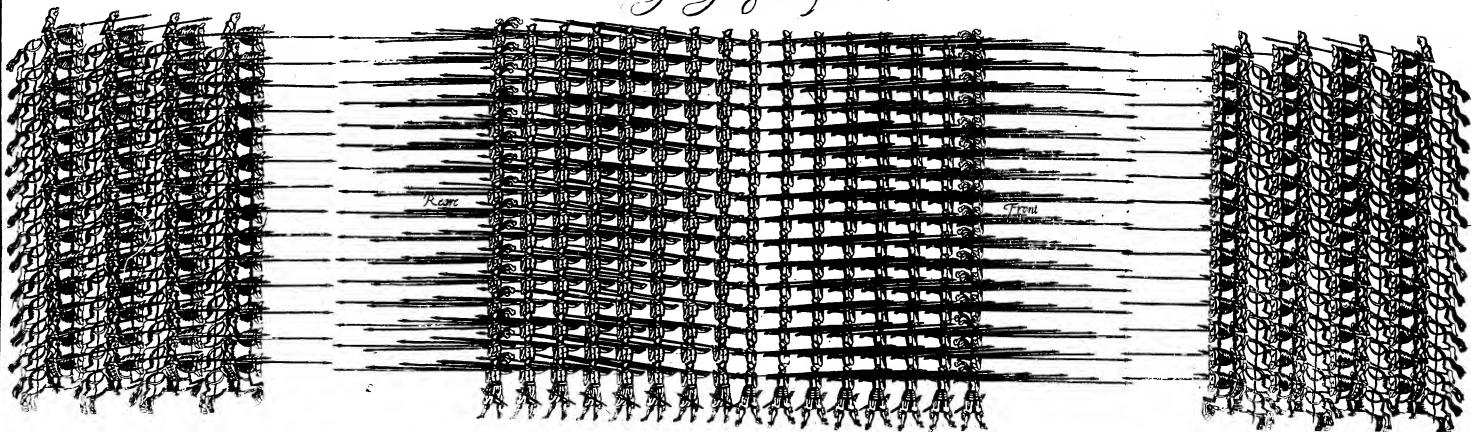
Of the Phalange Antistomus.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

(1)  He Phalange Amphistomus (for it is so called, because it hath two fronts, and that part of the battaile that is set and aduanced against the enemy, is called a front:) seeing then in this forme the middle-molt are ordered backe to backe, and those in the front and reare make head against the enemy, the one being Commanders in front, the other in reare, therefore it is called Amphistomus. It is of great vse against an enemy strong in Horse and able to giue a hot and dangerous charge, and principally practised against

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The Pylange Amphistomus



the Art of Embattailing Armies.

37

gainst those Barbarians that inhabit about the riuver Ister, whom they also call Amphippi, because they change their Horse in fight. The Horse battaile to encounter this forme hath a tetragonall shape, being for the purpose diuided into two broad squares (they are called broad tquare, that haue the front twice as much as the depth) and those squares are opposed severallly against the flanks of the foot-battaile.

N O T E S.

(1) **T**here are many kinds of battailes, which being vsefull for a march, are described partly in the former two chapters, partly in this and in the chapters following, whereof some are for ease of the march (as the *induction*) some for fight. Those which are for fight, are either *offensive*, or else *defensive*. Of the *offensive* kinde is the Cælembolos before mentioned, of the *defensive* the Triphalange to be opposed against the Cælembolos, and both the *deductions*, which are represented in the two last Chapters: and in this chapter is described another of the *defensive* formes, that is to say the *Phalange Amphistomus*; in which although the march be not continued (for it is alwayes taken vp in a stand, to resist a charge of the enemy) yet it is a ready *defensive* against the sudden attempts of the enemy which is about to recharge your reare.

2. *The Phalange Amphistomus.*] The title of this chapter is litigious, and there is a controuersie amongst the learned, which of two names the chapter should beare.. *Gaza*, *Gesner*, and *Arcierius*, would haue it inscribed *Antistomus*; *Robortellus*, *Amphistomus*: I haue in the translation followed the opinion of *Robortellus*; my reason was, because of these words in *Aelian*, *εἰ τοῖς ἀρχαῖς προβάλλουσιν τομῆς*, *they in the beginnings (τομῆς ἀρχαῖς)* charge the enemy: which word *ἀρχαῖς*, I haue not read applied to the flanks, and therefore tooke it for *front and reare*, because the one, namely the front is as it were the beginning of the battaile, the other, *viz.* the reare, is the end. In which sence if you take the word, the description must needs agree with the *Amphistomus*, which (the enemy charging both front and reare) with the *file-leaders* and their halfe files as they stand, receiue those that charge the front, with the *binigars-up*, and the other halfe files facing about to the right or left hand, those which charge the reare. But since, vpon better consideration, I thinke there is a fault in the text; and where it is written *εἰ τοῖς ἀρχαῖς*, it should be corrected and written (as I take it) *εἰ τοῖς ἀκραις*. For that *τομής* signifieth the flanks of the battaile. *Iulus Pollux* testifieth in these words; *τον παχυμένων τὸ επιπόθεν καὶ τὰ μέσαν, καὶ ζύγον καὶ πρόσαντον, τὰ ἐξαριστεῖς, ἄκρα, πλευρα, κέντρα* ^{*Jul. Pollux. l. i.*} *το δεύτερον καὶ εὐρύτερον: τὰ δὲ μέσον ὑφελός; τὸ δε πάθος τοῦ χοροῦ καὶ τὰ* ^{*c. 10.*} *fight, is called the front, the rankes; and the face; the outward parts on each side* ^{*Arr. l. 5. 109. F.*} *(τὰ ἐξαριστεῖς), the flanks, the wings, the right and the left; the middest the navel; the depth, the parget, or wall.* The like doth ^{*Leo c. 7. §. 58. 59.*} *Leo* in many places: and as ^{*c. 24. §. 8. 6. 9. 7. 10.*} *flankes; albeit *ἄκρα* in the plurall number is generally taken for the* ^{*87. 89. Xenoph.*} *teare sometimes: as in *Xenophon*, who describing a fight betwixt the Cor-* ^{*Cyrop. 17. 8. 4. 6. 7. 19.*} *cyreians and Lacedemonians, hath thus; *Mnasippus* (the Lacedemonian Gene-* ^{*who also calleth*} *ral) embattailing his army put the enemy that was neare the gates to flight, and fol-* ^{*the front-point*} *lowed the chace. They being come neare the wals, turned againe, and threw and cast* ^{*of a wedge ἄρχα.*}

The Tacticke of Ælian, or

^b τοις εγενετο. ^c εν εκτον τον
^c ταυματον.^d το ακανθην;
^e πλευρα.

darts from the mountaines : other running out of the other gates in good numbers fell upon the ^b reare of the Lacedemonians, who being ordered but ^c 8 deep, and thinking the ^d reare of the Phalange to be but weake, endeauoured to retire and fall off. The enemy no sooner saw them give ground, but presently fel on more eagerly, imagining they fled : neither did they turne their faces any more, and they who stood next vnto them fought with all speed to save themselves by flight. Mnasippus could give no aid to his defretted soldiers by reason hee was hardly laid to by the Corcireans, that came to hands with him; and his number by little and little decreased: at last the enemy in great numbers pressed them sore that stood about Mnasippus, who were now reduced to a very few. And the armed foot of the City seeing what was done abroad, issued out, and after they had slaine Mnasippus, they followed the chace all of them together. Thus Xenophon. And thus you may see ^f τάξει in the singular number taken for the reare of the Phalange, howsouer, ^f τάξει in the plurall, signifieth the flanks.

^g οι ἀξεις τοις κε-

ετον. Diiodor. sic.

l. 19. 693.

1184. c.

Suidas vseth
^f τάξει απέχει for
 the right wing,
 now the wing
 stretcheth in
 front, from the
 middle section
 to the point of
 the battaile
 Ælian. c. 7.

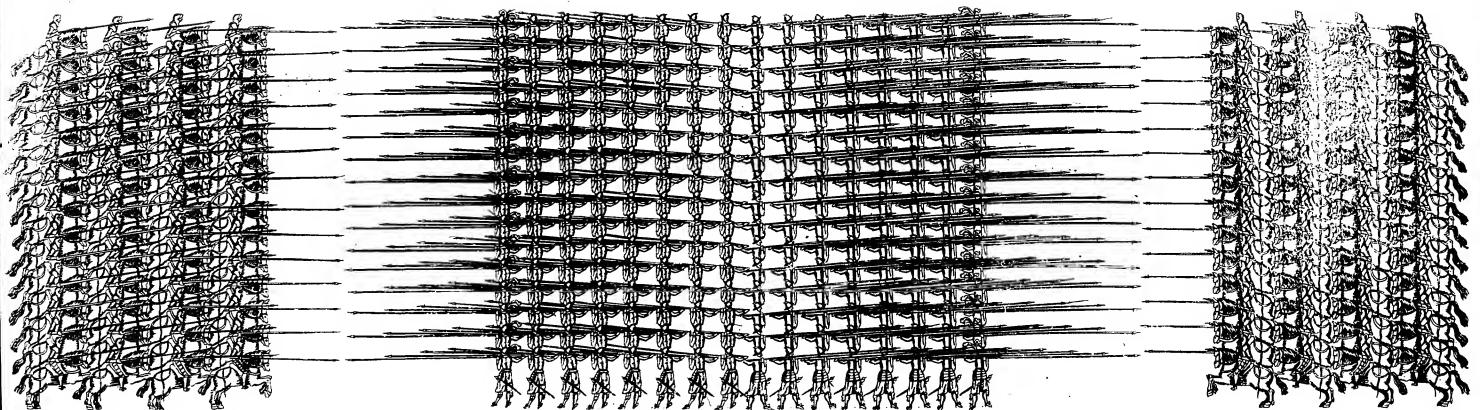
The Antistomus Phalange therefore differing from the Amphistomus in this only, because the last maintaines fight in front and reare, the first in both flanks, and Ælian in this Chapter describing the battell which maintaines the fight in the flanks, it seemeth that the inscription ought to be of the Phalange Antistomus, and that the text ought to be ^{τοις εγενετο} and not ^{τάξεις}. It may after a sort appear by Ælian himselfe in the next Chapter, where making a difference betwixt these two battailes, he saith plainly, that the Antistomus fighteth ^{τοις εγενετο}. Read then in the text, *Those in the flanks make head against the enemy*, in stead of these words: *Those in front and reare*, and all the rest will agree to the Phalange Antistomus.

3. *It is of great vse]* The vse of this battaile is principally against horse, as Ælian giueth to vnderstand; because they are quicke and speedy, and can suddenly turne, diuide themselues, and charge where they list. And the flanks of the battell being the weakest part (for your best men are placed in the front and reare) it is needfull to finde out some meanes to defend them, which is to instruct your Souldiers how to receiuie the charge by turning their faces to the flankes. In front you ~~are~~ alwaies ready ; because faces and weapons are bent that way. Effect the like in the flankes, and you shall be able to resist any charge of the enemy. For foot, the danger is not so great, because your men shall be able to face euery way, as readily as the enemy ; giue them only exercise, and acquaint them with that manner of fight.

4. *And principally practised against the Barbarians.]* That it was much vsed amongst the Grecians I find not in there history : yet is there no doubt, but the vse may be great in it as well as in the Amphistomus. But I take the reason, why it was seldome put in practise, to be, because the flankes of pikes in the Grecian battell were for the most part, garded with horse and light-armed. The front and reare having no such defence, were commonly attacked by the enemy, seeking all aduantage to distresse them ; and in case the horse and light-armed bee absent, the flankes are the fairest marke of the enemy ; which can by no other meanes be secured, but by facing that way where he giueth on ; which may be evidently seene by the fight Cyrus the elder had against Crœsus, which example you shall see set out in my notes vpon the 46. Chap. page 79.

5. *Those are broad squares]* That which I heere translate a broad square, is in the Greeke Heteromekes ; of which forme I haue spoken in notes vpon the 30. Chapter.

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The Psalange Anustumus
Front



the Art of Embattailing Armies.

39

Wordes of direction for the Phalange Antistomus (for the forme is described in this Chapter.)

1. Hälfe rankes, face to the right and left hands.
2. Charge your Pikes.

To restore to the first Posture.

1. Aduance your Pikes.
2. Face as you were.

(1) Of the Phalange Antistomus.

CHAP. XXXIX.

(1)  He Phalange Antistomus is like to the Amphistomus, the forme being a little altered; so that it accusmeth the Soldier to refit the severall kindes of incursions of horfe. All that hath beene spoken of the former Phalange both for foot and horfe, agreeith with this figure also. Heerin they differ, that the (2) *Amphistomus* receiueth the charge in front and reare, the Antistomus in flanke: but as well in the one as the other, they fight with long pikes, as doe the Alans, and Sauromatans: and the one hälfe of the souldiers in the files haue their faces bent forward, the other hälfe backward, so that they stand backe to backe. This forme hath two fronts, the one before where the file leaders, the other behinde, where the bringers vp stand; And being also diuided into a (3) *Diphalange*, it maketh the fore-front with one, the after-front with the other Phalange.

NOTE 3.

(1) **A**S the title of the former Chapter was mistaken, so is the title of this Chapter. The other should haue beeene of the *Antistomus* (as I haue before shewed) this of the *Amphistomus*. That it should be of the *Amphistomus*, the very wordes following in this Chapter will proue, which are these: *The one hälfe, saith he, of the arm'd soldiērs in the files haue their faces bent forward, the other hälfe backward, so that they stand backe to backe: and the battell hath two frontes, one before, where the file leaders, the other behinde, where the bringers vp stand.* He describeth the two frontys by the file-leaders and bringers vp, whose proper places are the front and reare, & not the flanks; and further addeth, that hälfe the armed souldiers haue their faces bent *forward*, (and change not) the other hälfe turned aboue *backward*; whereas in the *Antistomus* all the souldiers moue, and halfe face to one *flanke*, halfe to the *other*, and none to the *front or reare*: besides he saith, that hälfe the *arm'd* in the *files* stanck backe to backe, whereas in the *Antistomus* halfe the *arm'd* in the *ranks* stand backe to backe, not those of the *files*. (2) Now that the *Amphistomus* receiueth the charge of the enemy in the front and reare ^{a Leo cap. 7. § 86.} ^{b cap. 12. § 129.} ^{c apud Plin. b apud Is. Punicis} Leo also declarereth. The manner whereof appeareth in ^d *Appian*; who recounteth that ^e *Asdrub. ill. 9459*

The Tacticks of Aelian; or

Aesdruball the Carthaginian sought to entrap Scipio, giving Mago his general all of the horse commandment to charge Scipio his army in front, whilst himselfe charged it in the reare. But Scipio turning the reare of his battell against Aesdruball, and opposing the front of it against Mago, ouerthrew them both, and slew 5000 Carthaginians, and tooke 1800 prisoners. To make the maner of fight in this forme more plaine, I thought fit to inser an history or two out of Polybius and Arrian, as examples to illustrate that meaning of Aelian. In Polybius this is the history. The Gaules in great multitudes under the conduce of Concolitanus and Aneroestus their Kings, transcending the Alpes, and passing thorough Lombardy, and falling upon a part of Hetruria, had gathered rich spoiles out of that territory, and being now upon returne to their country, they were pursued by one of the Roman Consuls L. Aemilius and his army, so with intent to fight with them (for he held it not safe) but to obserue fit times and places to distresse them, or else to keepe them from further spoile. At the same time C. Attilius the other Consull having imbar ked his legions in Sardinia, and setting saile for Italy arrived at Pisa, and holding his way toward Rome marched directly in the way in which the enemy was coming. The Celts being now about Telamon, a promontory of Hetruria, their foragers fell into the hands of the Vandercours of Attilius, and were taken prisoners; They informed the Consul of all that hapned, and signified the presence of both armes; telling that the Gaules were at hand, and that L. Aemilius followed them close in their reare. Attilius partly marauisling at the strangeness of the newes, and partly being full of good hope, because the Gaules seemed to be surprised and hemmed in betwixt two armes, commanded the Tribunes to order his legions in a broad front, and so to lead on leasurely, as long as the ground would giue leane: himselfe in good time discovering a hill which hung over the way, in which the Gaules were to passe, tooke with him the horse, and fought with all speed to seise upon the top of it, and to begin the medly; conceiting thereby to have the honour and title of the whole service ascribed to him: the Gaules were at first ignorant of Attilius approaching, but conjectured only that it might be Aemilius had led his horse about in the night to seise upon safel places: they sent therefore their horse and light-armed to beat the Romans from the hill: but soone understanding by some captives that Attilius was there, they presently embattuled, ordering their army ^b into two fronts, the one before, the other behinde; for they knew that one army was following, and they expected as well by the newes they heard, as by that which they saw fall out at that time, that the other would meet them upon their march: Aemilius heard that the legions of Attilius were arrived at Pisa, but could not imagine they were come so neare; but after that by the sight about the hill, he perceiued certainly they were at hand, he sent out his horse to second those that fought for the hill, himselfe ordering his batells after the Roman wonted fashion, led on against the enmy. The Celts embattuled those that are called Gessates, and dwelt in the Alpes, & against Aemilius, who they imagined would charge the reare, and next to them the Insubrians. In the front they set the Turiscans and Boians (inhabiting beyond the river Po) turning their faces a contrary way to the former, and opposed to the asceste of Caius Attilius, the waines and wagons they placed without both wings, and sent their pray giuen to a hill thereby, appointing a sufficient gard to keep it. So the Amphiomous phalange, which the Celts cast themselves into, was not only fearefull to the eye, but also fitly ordered for fight. The Insubrians and Boians came forth to fight wearing bretches & a kind of loose and light coats; but the Gessates of a vaine glory and rashnesse cast them away, and stood naked, saing that they had their armes alone, in the front of the battell, imagining they were by that meane fitter for action.

Polyb. lib. 2.115.
A

^a insuperioribus
exterioribus
excessus impo-
rata.

the Art of Embattailing Armies.

by reason of the bignesse of the place, which would catch hold of any garment, and be a hinderance to the use of armes. The first fight was about the hill in the sight of all, by reason that the multitude of so many horse-men out of both armes were mingled together in fight; wherein it happened Attilius to be slaine (while too venturously he offered himselfe to danger) and his head to be presented to the Kings of the Celts, but yet the Roman horse-men bravely fighting, became masters of the place, and of the enemy: after this the foot joining, the accident was rare and marauisling not only to them which were present, but also to all those, who can by reading represent before their eyes the trubl of that which was done. For first the fight being attacted by 3 armes, it must needs be that the very fight and manner of the conflict appeared strange and without example; secondly, who would not doubt either now or then, whether the Celts manner of embattailing were more dangerous, the enemy charging them in two places at once, or the besy and aptest for victory, as oppressing against both the enemies at once, and withall severing themselves from encompassing and invasion of the reare: and which is of most importance, no hope being left of safety, if they should chance to be foyled. For that is the property and profit of the Amphionous battaille; it made the Romans more confident, to have the enemy enclosed on all sides; and yet the bruyry and noysse and tumult of the Celts gave them cause of amonishment; For there was an innumerable multitude of Trumpets and Shalmes, to which the whole army together adding the Pean, the cry was so great, that not onely the trumpets and armes, but the places round about with their rebounding echoes seemed of themselves to speake. Furthermore, the sight and motion of the naked men that stood in the front, being in flower of their age, and excelling in talnesse of stature, was fearefull. Now alth: Gaules that had the front were adorned with bracelets and chaines of gold; which the Romans eying, were partly afforred, partly being filled with rich hopes, were incited much the rather to ioyne battell; but when the darters running out of the Roman arm according to their custome, threwe many and forcible darts at the Celtes, the Celtes of the reare found good use of their coates and breeches; but those that fought naked in the front, this accident happening contrary to their expectation, were troubled out of measure and wonderfully perplexed: for the Gaulish target being not of sufficiency to cover a mans body, the greater and nakeder their bodies were, the more were they subject to wounds, and the lessse the weapons missed the marke. At the last, being not able to save themselves from the light-armed, who plied them a farre off, nor from the multitude of darts that fell amongst them, and being troubled and confuddled with their present state, some of them out of a rage and bruylenesse ranne vainly upon the enmy, and willingly offered themselves to slaughter, other retiring leasurely to their friends, and shewing manifest tokens of feare, disordered them behinde. Thus the Roman light-armed allaid the pride of the Gessates. But the multitude of the Insubrians, Boians, and Turiscans, after the Romans had received thier light-armed into their battell, and advanced he cohorts, (of armed) to ioyne hand to hand, maintained a stout fight, and albeit they received many woundes, yet fainted they not in minds, being onely inferior both generally and particularly in the kinde of armes they bore. For both their targets in defence, and their swords in offence, had a great difference; by reason the Gaulous sword is onely fit to strike withall. But when the Roman horse from the hill hasted downe in wings, and stoutly came to handly stroakes with them, the foot-men of the Celts were cut in pieces in the places where they fought, and the horse tooke themselves to flight: There dyed therefore of the Celtes 30000, and 1000 were take prisoners, amongst whom was Concolitanus one of the Kings, the other K. Aneroestus flying to a certayne place with a few killed.

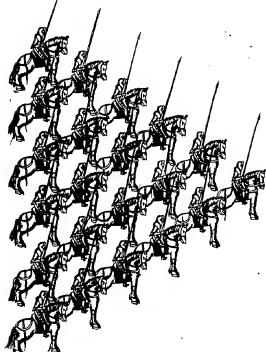
The Tactics of Aelian, or

himselfe and his friends that were about him. This example hath *Polibius* of the Amphistomus Phalange, wherein he both sheweth the form, and the use of it, namely, that it hath ^a front both waies to receive the enemy's charge before and in the rear. ^b *Arian* hath another example in the battaile between *A.*

^a *Arian* b. 5. f. 11. ^b *Arian* b. 5. f. 11. *Alexander* the Great and *Porus* a king of India; his words are to this effect; *A.* *Alexander* was now come within the reach of misse weapons, when he sent his Archers on horseback against the left wing of the Indians, to molest the enemy on that side, both with multitude of arrows, and with incursion of the horse: and himselfe also ^c using with him the troupes of Companies, spurring on against the same wing, using all celerity to fall upon them (who were yet out of order and in a wing) before they could reduce themselves into a Phalange. In the mean time the Indians knitting together their whole power of horse, made head against *Alexander* with all speed, giring their horse a full carriere. Then *Curus*, as was commanded, shewed himselfe at their backs. The Indians seeing this, were forced to order their horse in an Amphistomus, opposing one part (the most and strongest) to *Alexander*, the other to *Curus* and his troupes, which thing troubled the array and mindes of the Indians. And *Alexander*, taking hold of the opportunity, charged those which were oppised to him in the instant, while the other were facing about to *Curus*. The Indians endured not the charge, but fled to the Elephants, as to a castle that was friend. Hitherto *Arian*. In these two examples is likely set forth the nature and fashion of the Amphistomus phalange. And albeit both the parties that used it were beaten, yet the cause reflected not in the forme, but in the valour of them that fought against it, if the Romans in one example, of *Alexander* in the other, *Alexander* himselfe using this very forme in the battell of *Gangamala*, obtained the famous victory against *Darius*, which is described by *Arian* in his third book, as did ^d also *Scipio* against *Afrubal* in Spaine: so then by that which hath beene said, the difference betweene the Antistomus and Amphistomus phalange may easily appear; which albeit they either of them fight against the enemy in two places of the Phalange at once, and are like ore to another in that respect, yet they differ in the places of the fight, the one receiveng the charge in both the flanks, other in front and rear. They are both defensiv & statary, and if moue with you either of them during the charge of the enemy, you presently break the form, and lay the backs of the soldiers open to be annoied, especially if the enemy ouertop you in number: otherwile it will be no inconuenient to diuide the battell, and to fight apart with both; For that the Antistomus may be diuided, *Aelian* teacheth in the next Chapter: for the Amphistomus, hee saith the like in this Chapter in these words.

³ *And also being diuided into a Diphilange.]* A Diphilange is when a Phalange is diuided into two; and being in one body, it is called a Phalange, in two bodies a Diphilange. About the Diphilange Amphistomus there is variance amongst the writers of this Art. *Aelian* would have it to bee framed of a Phalange Amphistomus diroyed, and in the middest diuided into two parts: so that the fore-front is made with one of the hinder front with the other Phalange. The Treatise of Military Appellations annexed to the end of *Suidas* saith, that that is a Diphilange Amphistomus, which hath the file-leaders on the outsides of both the flanks in a deducion, and the bringers vp within. I take *Aelian* to be in the right; for if the Amphistomus Phalange must have the front and rear opposed to the enemy, what reason is there why the Amphistomus Diphilangi should not be of the same nature, confounding

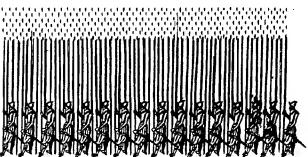
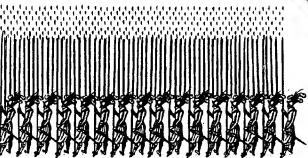
The Hormans wedge



Front

Cap. 40.

A Diphilange Antistomus



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dering that the Diphalangy Antistomus hath the leaders, in the flankes, as the Phalange Antistomus hath: which appeareth not only in the next Chapter, but also in diuers other places of this Booke: neither doe I reade anywhere, that the Antistomus hath to do with the front and reare, nor the Amphistomus with the flankes.

The words of direction in the Amphistomus.

The hinder

- 1 Halse files, face about to the right or left hand.
- 2 Charge the Pikes both wates in front and reare.

To restore to the first Posture.

The hindermost

- 1 Aduance your Pikes.
- 2 Halse files, face as you were.

Of the Diphalange Antistomus.

C H A P. XXXX.



Diphalange Antistomus, is that which hath the file-leaders placed not in a *deduction* outwardly, but inwardly face to face one against another, and the reare-Commanders without, one halfe in right, the other halfe in a left deduction. This forme is vsed against Horse, which giue on and charge wedge-wise: for the wedge shooting forth in a point, and ha-
ving the Commanders following in the flankes, and indeauouring to disseuer and breake the Front of the foot, the Leaders of the foot fore-seeing their purpose, place themselues in the middest, with intent either to repulse them, or else to giue them a thorow passage without losse. For the *wedge* flieth vp-
on the foote in hope to charge the multitude in the middest; and the foote
Commanders conceiuing well the fury of that forme, leaue a little space be-
twixt the 2 fronts, and stand like walles on both sides, and ioyntly *facing*
toward the middest, giue them a fruitlesse and empty passage. This forme
of Horse battaile is called by the Tactiks a *wedge*, which was inuented by Phi-
lip King of Macedony, who placed his best men before, that by them the
weaker sort might be held in & enabled to the charge. As we see in a Speare
or sword, the point whereof quickly piercing, makes way for, and letteth in
the middle blunt yron.

N O T E S .

A [Diphalange Antistomus.] This Diphalange is thus defined by *Suidas*; *suidas*, in
A Diphalange Antistomus is that, which hath the file-leaders placed in the mid- ded, and the bringers vp ordered without on both flankes in deductions: which words
differ a little in speech, in fence are all one with *Ælians*. They both agree
that the file-leaders should be placed within the middest of the battaile face
to face in deductions, the bringers vp on the flankes without. In the text, and
in fashioning of the battaile, there is no difficulty. The file-leaders must be
placed

The Tacticks of Aelian, or

placed in the middest within, the bringers vp on the flanks without; and the battaile being first closed, must be suddenly opened vpon the charge of the Horse in the middest, and the file-leaders dividing themselves halfe on one side, halfe on the other, and facing to the middle space with their whole files push at the Horse with their Pikes, as they passe thorow. It is call'd a Diphalange, because the phalange is parted in two; as the battaile opposed against the Cælembolos is named a Trighalange, because it consisteth of three parts severall, and in the ninth Chapter the whole Macedonian phalange is named a Tetraphalangarchy, because the body is diuided into fourse severall parts: and it is named a Diphalange Antistomus, because as the Phalange Antistomus recceueth the Horse without in the flanks, and so repulseth them, so this altering that forme, onely by placing the file-leaders in depth within, and opening vpon the sudden receue the Horse in the opened voide space, either to be ouerthrown by their Pikes, or else to give them paflage without danger to themselves. This is one of the defensive battailes whereof I speake before. It is put in practice saith Aelian.

[When the Horse charge Wedge-wise.] What a Wedge is, and of what force amongst the Horse-battailes, I haue noted vpon the 18 Chapter. Against it Aelian opposeth this forme of foot. But is there no other vise of it? Yes. For both the Cælembolos and Peristomus are as it were daughters, and proceed out of the loynes of this forme, both hauing their file-leaders in d'icussions within the body, and both opening, the first the front, the other the whole body, when they goe to charge; and yet the Diphalange Antistomus is defensiu, the other two offendiu formes. I will accordingly as I haue begun, illustrate the manner of the Diphalange Antistomus with an example or two. ^{* Xenophon describes the fight that was between Artaxerxes the king of Persia and Cyrus the younger, tellet of Tissaphernes (one of the four Generals of Artaxerxes) his army, that he fled not in the first joining of the armies, but brake thorow the Grecian Peltasts (targetires) that stood embattaled by the river. Breaking thorow, he slew no man: for the Grecians opening their battall, strooke and threw darts at his horsemen, as they passed thorow. Epiphernes the Amphipolita, who held the estimation of an understanding soldier, was then commander of the Peltasts. Tissaphernes therefore withdrawinge himselfe as one that had the worst, returned no more to fight, but going to the Grecian Camp, met the King there. So Xenophon, Out of which paflage wee may perceue the vise of this manner of embatteling. Tissaphernes chose out the Grecians to charge the Peltasts the weakest kind of louldiers to make resistance against the horse, by reaon they were furnished with smal targets only and darts. Then hee chargeth with his horse in a full Carrere: to auoide the fury of the horse, they opened and gaue him a free paflage, but not without stroakes, and darts sent at his horse; and so made his charge more hurtfull to himselfe then vnto them: I cannot say the file-leaders were here in the middest, as Aelian requireth, because the charge was sudden and vnexpected. In premeditated defences, there is no doubt, but it is the better way to place the file-leaders in the middest, conseruing they are accounted the strength of the battell, and in all conveniences are first brought to fight, especially being armed men, and able to offend the horse with their Pikes; This opening then auailed aginst the ordering of horse ordered in a narrow front: for that was the manner of giuing on of horse ordered in a narrow front: for that was the manner of ordering the Persian horse; and it may serue for any horse-battaile if it bee wide enough.}

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wide enough to receive the horse within the front. Of ancient time sythed Chariots were in request, to which the foot whether light or armed could make small resistance; they had two long staves appointed with sharpe iron fastened to the beame of the chariot bearing out before, and sythes standing out on all sides to cut asunder whatsoeuer came in the way: the horse were armed, and hardly to be wounded, as you may see in the figure of the 23 Chapter. The remedie then against them was to open the battaile in front and reate, to the end to let them passe thorough, which opening was after the manner set downe in this Chapter. ^{Alexander at Gaugamela being to fight with Darius, who had many of this kinde of chariots, and fearing the danger died sic. lib. 17. 592. Arian. lib. 3. cap. 5. Curi. 4. 24. 1. 149.} they might bring to his army, commanded his Phalange of foot, that when the Chariots approached they shold knit themselves sholder to sholder, and beat their pikes upon their targets, that the horse being affrighted with the noise, might turne, and ran the contrary way. But if by such meane they would not be repreffed, then he willed them to open and make wide distances, thorow which they might hold on their course without danger to his people. This was the prouision of Alexander against the Chariots: The event follows. After the trumpets had given the signe of battaile, the armes charged one another casting forth great cries: And first the sythed Chariots flying out amaine, gave much amazement and terrorre to the Macedonians. For Mazaeus one of the Generals of Darius his horse, to the end to make the falling on of the horse more terrible, came thundering with his troupes of horse, in the rearre of the chariots: But when the Phalange ioyned target to target, and every man beat his target according to the Kings direction, there arose a great noise; by reaon whereof many of the chariots, the horses being affrighted, turned backe, and with unresiftible violence rush'd upon their owne people: other falling vpon the Macedonians, who made large distances, those which entered were partly overwhelmed with darts, partly passed quiet thorow, some being carried with the violence of their course, and working mightyli with their sharpe sythes, brought with them many and sundry kinds of death: for the force of their sythes had such power to destroy, that from many it cut off the armes, and targets and all the necks of not a few were caru'd, heads falling to the ground, the eyes yet seeing, the countenance not altered; of some the tis torn out the sides, and put them to a speedy death. Hitherto of the history of Diodorus. But where he noteth the harms, that came from the sythed chariots, I take it they might haue beeene auoided, if the distances had beene wide enough, because I finde in Xenophon in the battaile betwixt Artaxerxes and Cyrus mentioned by me before, that many of the chariots of the Persians ranne thorough the Phalange of the Grecians without hurt to any man. To returne then to the vise of this forme, it hath heretofore, and may at this day bee put in practice against horse; and not onely against horse ordered in a wedge, but also giuing on in a square, if it be so they charge by troopes, and the opening be wide enough, and sudden to receive the front of the horse. For against a grosse of horse, they cannot haue time to open wide enough; and if they open too timely, they leau'e liberty to the horse to charge either of the parts opened, as themselves shall please; and by diuiding themselves, they diminish their owne strength.

The Tacticks of Elian, or

Words of direction for the Diphalange Antistomus.

1 Wheele the wings into the middest of the battaile

2 Face to the Front.

3 Open your battaile.

4 Face to the middest.

5 Charge your Pikes.

This is done if the middlemost 2 file-leaders stand firme, & the rest with their files wheele till they meet, and then stand: the face to the front; and when the Horse charge, open themiddest suddenly, and facing one against another, charge your Pikes against the Horse.

Restoring to the first Posture.

1 Aduance your Pikes.

2 Cloſe your battaile.

3 Face to the right and left hand.

4 Wheele the middest of the battaile to the wings.

5 Face as you were at first and stand.

of the Peristomus Diphalange.

C H A P. XXXI.



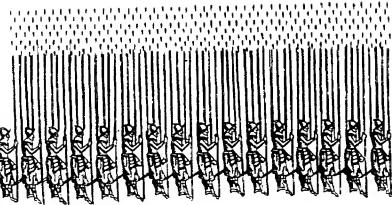
HE Phalange of the Diphalange Peristomus proceede by deduction in a wing, the oblique deduction on the right hand, hauing the file-leaders without: the left hand oblique deduction, hauing the reare-commanders within. The figure sheweth the intent of them that fight so ordered: For the battaile going to charge, hauing beene at first Tetragonall, diuideth it selfe into two oblique wings, the right and the left, of purpose to enclose the aduerse square battaile; and they fearing to be enclosed, transferre themselves into two marching Phalanges, directing one against the right, the other against the left wing: therefore is it called Peristomus, as hauing the front bent against the enemy both wayes.

N O T E S.

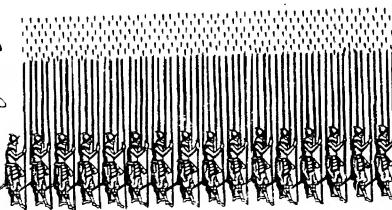
(1) About the inscription of this Chapter also there is a controversie amongst the Interpreters; some would haue it of the Peristomus diphalange, some of the Amphistomus Diphalange, and of the Peristomus. Why any man should imagine that the Amphistomus Diphalange is here described, I conceiue

Cap. 41.

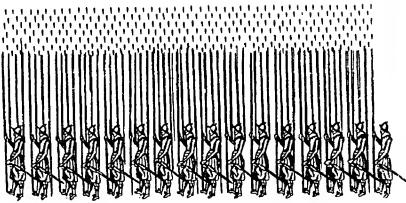
The Diphalange *Peristomus*



The median front of the
Peristomus



The left wing of f° *Peristomus*



The right wing of f° *Peristomus*

The square divided in two and set
against f° *Peristomus* two Diphilanges

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conceive not, vnlesse he should seeme to make *Aelian* contrary to himselfe. For the Amphistomus Diphalange hath nothing to doe with the flanks, as appeareth by *Aelian* in the 34 Chapter. This Diphalange fighteth altogether in flanke, as the description declareth.

The Phalanges of the Diphalange Peristomus.] What a wing is, and what deduction I haue shewed before. The meaning is, that the Phalanges Peristomus are both of them led obliquely (with the file-leaders in flanke) and in two deepe bodies; whereof the one hath in purpose to charge the right flanke, the other the left flanke of the aduerte square battaile.

2 The oblique deduction on the right hand.] Albeit both these Phalanges are called oblique, yet we may not imagine, that these Loxe-phalanges are the same that is described in the 30 Chapter. For in that one of the Phalange forbeare the fight, the other aduanceth to ioyne with the enemy, in this both fight at once, and haue their aduantage by charging the flanks of the enemy. That began the fight in front & had there the file-leaders, this in both flanks; this seeks to encompass, that to auoid encompassing it selfe, as I haue shewed in my notes vpon the same Chapter.

3 The oblique deduction on the right-hand, having the file-leaders without.] I must imagine, till further information, that here is a fault in the text: my reason is this; all deductions are made to oppose the file-leaders against the enemy in fight. So is the right-hand deduction vfed, when it is suspected the enemy will charge the right-hand flanke: the left-hand Deduction, when it is suspected he will charge the left; so in wheelings we turne the front against the enemy, so in countermarches. Now this forme being inuented to encompass the enemy, and to fight vpon his flanks, I would thinke the file-leaders ought to be placed on the inward flanks of the Diphalange; as it is in the Cælembolos; for were the bringers vp to be within, they shoud staine all the weight of the fight, the battaile being once diuided, and the file-leaders standing without shoud idly looke on, which is contrary to the military discipline of the Grecians, whose care was to vse the file-leaders in fight as much as was possible. Neither is it thereupon to be concluded, that this Diphalange and the Diphalange Antistomus are all one. For altho both haue their file-leaders within, yet doe they differ both in forme and end. In forme, because this moueth forward with both Phalanges, the other standeth still: this is oblique, the other in a streight line; that hath the front of the two phalanges even, this (as it falleth out in the motion) sometimes the one more forword, sometimes the other. In their ends, because this goeth to assault and to breake the enemies battaile, the other standeth fast and seekes onely to saue it selfe; the one being offensive, the other defensiu. So that, as I said before, the Cælembolos and this are both fram'd out of the Diphalange Antistomus, both hauing their file-leaders within the middest of the battaile; and yet differ in that the Cælembolos is but one body hollowed within; this diuided into two bodies.

And they fearing to be enclosed.] The case of this square is almost all one, with the square against which the Cælembolos is opposed: For both are in danger to be enclosed. Now as the other square was faine to cast it selfe into a Triphalange, and to oppose two of the phalanges against the two wings of the Cælembolos, referring the third for all accidents; so this square diuideth it selfe into two phalanges (but hath no third) setting the one against the

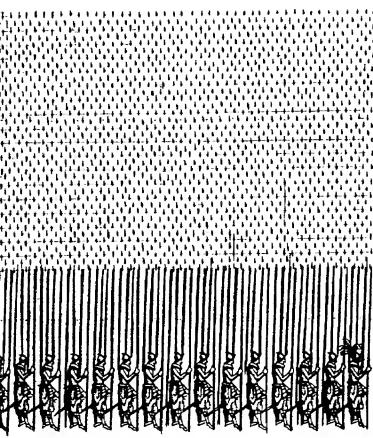
The Tacticke of Ælian, or

*Arr. I. 5. 111. C.
Died. Sic. I. 609.*

right-hand battaile of the Peristomus, the other against the left; for by this opposition they inhibit the enemy from attaching their flanks. Of this forme I finde not many presidents in the Greeke history; I will receite one-
ly one out of Arrian concerning Alexander, which if it hit not this forme in
euery point, yet it hath fully the effect of that which is intended by Ælian:
Alexander being to deliuere battaile to *Porus* a King of part of India, lying on
the other side of the riuer Hydaspes, found his enemies army to be thus em-
battaile; *He had placed his Elephants in the front 100 foot distant one from ano-
ther; and he placed them there to give terror to Alexanders Horse*, for he imagined
that no enemy durst approach the spaces betwixt the Elephants, neither with Horse nor
feare of the Elephants, and much lesse with foot, because the armed on his side were
there to receive them, and the Elephants would tread and trample them under their
feet. Next he ordered the foot, not in an equall front with the beasts, but in a second
front after them, so that the files came up almost to the spaces betwixt the Elephants;
besides, he added foot upon the wings aboue the Elephants. On both the wings of the
foot he ordered his Horse, and before them his Chariots. This was the embattailing
of *Porus*. *Alexander* as soone as he saw the Indians stand in battaile array, caused
his Horse to make alte, that he might haue his foot come up, who aduanced still for-
ward. And when the Phalange was come unto him running, he embattailed it not pre-
sently, nor forthwith led it against the enemy, lest he shold deliuere it weary and out
of breath into the hands of the Barbarians, that were fresh; but circling and riding here
and there in rounds with his Horse, he rested his foot, and gaue them time to refresh
themselues. And after he beheld the Indian manner of Embattailing, he thought it
not good to give upon the mid left (of the front) where the Elephants stood, and the
Phalange was close ordered against the spaces of the Elephants, fearing the reasons
that led *Porus* to embattaile in that forme. But, as he was stronger in horse, taking
to him the most of his Horse, he speeded to the left wing of the enemy, in purpose to give
on there, and sent *Cœnus* with *Demetrius* his troope and his owne troope against
the right wing; commanding him, that when the Barbarians seeing his troopes, shold
turke their strength of Horse against him, *Cœnus* shold inuade their backs. He gaue
the Phalange to *Seleucus*, *Antigones* and *Tauron* to lead; commanding them not
to fall on, before they saw the enemies foot and horse put into a branche by his Horse.
What the euent of the fight was, I haue before shewed in my notes vpon
the Phalange Amphistomus, where I haue cited the latter end of this histo-
ry. Now may be seene by this example, that *Alexander* began the fight not
in the front, but in the flankes; and the cause why he did it, was, because the
front was exceeding strong by reason of the Elephants. And by this meanes
defeating first the enemies Horse, then his foot, he left the Elephants naked,
and without defence against the darts and other missiue weapons of the Ma-
cedonians, and gained a worthy victory against a strong enemy. Now albeit this example come not home in all points to the Peristomus (for Æli-
an limiteth it to foot against foot, this fight was betwixt Horse and Horse)
yet is the reason of warre alike in both. For as the file-leaders of the Peri-
stomus gaue on vpon the flanke of the aduerse square, which is the weakest
part of it; so did the Horse of *Alexander* surmounting the Indians both in
number and valor, gaue on vpon the flanks of *Porus* his army which was wea-
kest, and so began and ended the victory.

*It is called Peristomus, as having the front bent.] That is, being diuided into
halfe, the one Phalange marching obliquely, commeth vp and chargeth one
flanke*

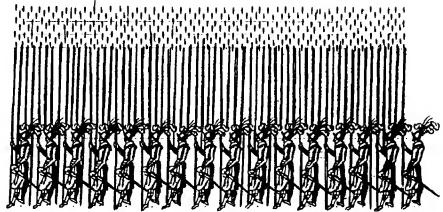
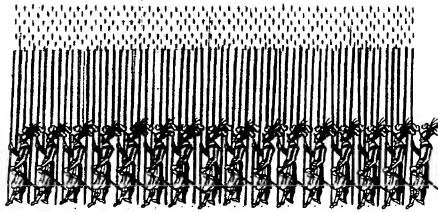
The Battalio called Plinithum



The front

Cap. 42.

The Diphalange Homoeostomus



flanke of the aduerse battaille, the other chargeth the other; and so hath the fronts against the enemis both waies.

Words of direction in the Peristomus.

- 1 Wheele your front into the middest of the battaille.
- 2 Face to the front.
- 3 One wing march out obliquely, and charge the right flankē of the enemy, the other the left flankē.

Of the Diphalange homoiostromus, and of the Plinthium.

C H A P. XLII.



Diphalange (1) Homoiostromus is so named, because a (2) whole file (that is 16 men) moving by it selfe; another file followeth it; and it is therefore called Homoiostromus, because they that follow, follow in a like figure.

(3) This kind is opposed against the Plinthium; (4) Plinthium is a forme of battaille, that hath the sides eauall both in figure and number. In figure, because the distances are every where equall. In number, because there are as many men in length as in depth. (5) In this foure-sided battaille are none in the foure sides but armed, without archer or slinger to helpe: when therefore two Phalanges march together, and both haue their leaders in a right-hand or left-handed deduction, it is called a Diphalange Homoiostromus.

NOTE S.

Homoiostromus is a Diphalange, the battailes whereof haue like fronts, to this forme is incident, first that it be marching, then that it march in deductions; lastly, that the deductions be vpon one and the telle, and not vpon contrary tides, *viz.* that the file-leaders of the Phalanges, be all of them either vpon the right hand, or vpon the left hand of their Phalanges. And therefore *Suidas* defineth it to be a *Diphalange, which hath the leaders of either Phalange ordered in the same side of the march.* Where he saith that the leaders are ordered on the same side in both Phalanges (which words are likewise in *Aelian* in the end of the Chapter) we must vnierstan^d not the leaders of the March, but the file-leaders, who are also calle^d *frontiers*, or leaders: For as *Aelian* saith elsewhere, the march in a *Deduction* proceedeth in wing not by file but by ranke, so that the file-leaders are in the ranke not in the front of the march; and yet a man may truly sayne it the front of the battaile, as long as it standeth and faceth against the enemy.

2 Because a whole file.] I am out of doubt that this place is corrupted: any man that marketh the coherence will easily be of mine opinion. The inscription is of a Diphalange, which consisteth of two phalanges. The cause why this forme is called a Diphalange, Homoiostromus, is in these words affigued to be, because a whole file, that is, 16 men moving, another file followeth it.

The Tacticks of *Elian*, or

let one file follow another, what is that to two Phalanges? Every Phalange hath many files in it, as the ¹ seventh Chapter will teach vs; nor will any man say that a file is a phalange, nor that the following of one file singly after the other will make a Diphalange: the truer cause is alledged in the words following: It is therefore called Homoistomus, because they that follow, follow in the like figure: which words albeit they be generall, yet being explained and particularisid in the end of the Chapter, they shew, that it is called a Diphalange Homoistomus when two phalanges follow one another, either in a right, or a left hand deduction. And by that part of the text the nature of the Homoistomus is sufficiently expressed.

^b A square bat-
tale of men and
ground both.

³ This is opposed against the ^b Plinthium.] How this forme should be opposed against the Plinthium, I must confess I yet vnderstand not, vnlse it be that being in a march, the Plinthium charge one of them on that side where the deduction, (that is in the front, for the flanke is now become the front) (the file-leader facing to the enemy way) and that the other if it be the leading phalange retiring & whealing, the following file advancing and whealing) give vpon the flank of the Plinthium, so that the Plinthium be charged both in front and in flanke, which is no small aduantage in fight; for otherwise if the Plinthium meet the Phalanges so following one another, and charge the front which leadeth (which in deed is not the front but the leading flanke, as much as the march procedeth not by file but by ranke, as *Elian* hath) the deduction not onely loseth the benefit of bringing the file leaders to fight, but is also subiect to one-winging, and by that meanes in worse case then is the induction which hath the file-leaders in front. There are other vies of the Homoistomus, they are here specified by *Elian*. For the Deduction directing the front against the enemy that appeareth, or is like to appear on the flank of the deduction, the phalanges may fitly second one another, when either of them is charged; not unlike the two battalions of foot, which a *Xp* holdeth sufficient to repulse the charge of horse in open field or Champain. And if both the deductions be charged at once, they are at no greater inconuenience, then if they stood ranged in ordinary manner, being either of them so deepe, and the fronts which are in the deduction ready to receive the affort of the enemy, and the rest of the linnes disposed, asin the ordinary Pha ange.

⁴ Plinthium is a forme of battaille.] This definition comprehendeth not all Plinthiums, for there is a kind of even-sided Plinthium (it is called *πλίνθιον*, which hath the front & flanks of one length: and it is it which *Elian* here defineth. There is also a kind of I linthiu that is deeper in flanke then the front is long, which of ancient time was called *πλίνθιον* in grecce, in enlisg a tower, the name of Plinthium is deduced from *πλίνθος*, a brick, because as the brick is square, so is this battaille, which is the reason I think, that it is often confounded Pleiium, this being also a square battaille, and the name deduced from the mou'd wherein brickes are fashioned, which mould is called in grecce *πλίνθογρανάδα* to forme. The difference betwixt them according to *Elian* is, that the Pliniuum is a perfect square equall both in length and depth, the Pleium a square longer in front then flanke.

⁵ In this figure are none but armed in the foreside.] what then becomes of the light-armed? they must be conuayed into the middef; and the Plinthium ought to be hollow within as well to receiue them, as those of the army that are

^a La. Notes second
Paradox.

^a Plinthium in
Tunisie certaine;
it's a round
square battaille
of 12000 men.

the Art of Embattailing Armies.

ate vnfit for fight. Leo hath this precept: If the enemy be horse, you are to order the army into the square figure of a Plinthium, and cast into the (hollow) middef the carriage, beasts and cariage, and without them the armed, and furthest without the archers, but so you may dismarch in safet; yet this placing the archers without is contrary to *Elian*, &c to many experiences mentioned in the Greekke history. ^a Timotheus the Athenian purposing to passe by the City Olynthus; and fearing the Olynthian horse-men, ordered his army into a broad-fronted Plinthium, casting the ^b *Poly. m. 29. § 25.* baggage and horse into the middef, and causyng the wagons to be driven thronging and fastned together, the armed foot being without on all sides; so that the Olynthian horse could not come to disreste them. Brifas the Lacedemonian being in Illyri- ^c *Poly. m. 30. § 7. in* um forsaken of the Macedonians his allies, expecting to be set upon by Arrhybe. ^d *Diod. Sic. 6. 15.* and the Illyrians, reduced his arme into a square, and taking the light-armed into the middef, refolded to retire: the youngest bee appointed to fall out if the enemy charged on any side; Himself with 300 chosen men took vpon him to secure the reare, and to resist the enemy that should first come to charge. The Barbarians seeing him dismarch, followed with great shouts and cries, imagining he fled, and hoping to take him and cut his throat: but when the light-armed fell out and met them, wherefore they gaue on and himselfe with his selected band received them, and contrary to their opinion stod firme, and repulsed the first charge, and ever as they forbore to charge held on his way: the most part of the Barbarians left the Grecians, and appointing a party to follow their reare, the rest pursued the Macedonians that fled, ^e *Diod. Sic. 6. 15.* a killed as many as they lighted upon. The like forme was vsed in Elephants by the capitaines of Eumenes and Peucestes against a surprise of Atticou. ^f *Diodorus Siculus reporteth the history thus:* Antigonus being aduertised, ^g *Diod. Sic. 15.* that all Eumenes his forces were come unto him but onely his Elephants, and that ^h *Diod. Sic. 15.* the Elephants were expected out of their garrisons and were farre off alone, and without ayde of horse and foote, sent against them 2000 ⁱ *brace-men*, being Medes, 300 Tarentines, and all his light-armed foot; for he hoped that falling upon the Elephants alone, he might easilie become master of them, and draine his enemy of his greatest strength. Eumenes casting in his minde what might happen, disparted away 1500 of his best horse, and 300 light-armed foot. Antigonus people appearing first, the commanders of the Elephants ordering the beasts into a Plinthium, marched forward, throwing the carriage into the middef, having 300 horse and no more to make head in the reare; the enemy falling on with all their might, and hotly charging, the horse being ouerlaide with number, were put to flight. The riders of Elephants at first made good resistance and stood to it, albeit they were wounded on all sides, and not able to hurt the enemy; and being now at the last cast, the forces of Eumenes unex-^j *Diod. Sic. 15.* pectedly shewing themselves, snatched them out of all danger and disreste. ^k *Age. b Poly. m. 29. § 25.* Silius vsed this forme against the Thebans; the Argiraspides against ^l *Anti-* ^m *Diod. Sic. 6. 14.* *Antigonus*: the history is this; Antigonus hauing the better against the horse of Eumenes, diuided his horfe into two parts, the one he tooke to hi. nselfe and obserued Eumenes, the other hee gaue to Pythion willing him to charge the Argiraspides and siluer targateers old soldiers of Alexanderis deprived of the aide of the horse, but they casting themselves into a Plinthium retired safet to the riuer. *Elian* remembred nothing concerning the vse of the Plinthium: But wee may learne by the examples reharsed, that it was then practised when the enemy was too strong and able to charge every way; and it is one of the fore-side battailles that is mentioned in the 36 & 37 Chap. and vsed principally against horse, but sometimes against horse and foote. Philip

The Tacticls of Elian, or

*Phil. Syr. lib. 16. the father of Alexander the Great, being to take arme against the Illyrians who
surped many Cities of his kingdom, leuted 10000 foot, & 600 horse, and with them en-
tered the enemies country. Bardilis the Illyrian King met him with as many foot, and
500 horse : when the armes came together, and with shoutes syoud battaile, Philip
bearing the right wing, and the left Macedonian soldiery, commanded the horse to
fall on and charge the enimy in flankes : himselfe giving upon the front, began a strong
fight. The Illyrians ordeneing themselves into a Plumthium, valiantly about the onys ;
and at the first, the fecht was equally, and so continued a good while, by reason of the va-
lour beuen on both parties ; afterward the horse flying hard the rearre and flankes, and
Philip with his chevaux valiantly laying at the front, the multitude of the Illyrians
were forced to fly. Here the Plinthium resuled both horse and foot : I will add
one example more of repulsing horse, the army being cast into a Plinthium.*

*Apian Parthici
265.
Platin aduersus.*

*Marcus Antonius (chenu to subdue Persia, and to revenge the losse whiche Cræsus re-
ceived) and having laid siege to a great City called Phœstæ, and finding not the fac-
tiofie he looked for, determined to dis-march and lead his arm. out of the Country, ha-
ving first in ad. truce with the King of Persia, proceeding on his towrey, he was (it ap-
pears by the Parthians, who being repulsed, they retred that day. Antonius hereby regu-
led what to doe : and streynghing his reare and flankes with many darts & stingers,
he formed his army into a Plinthium, and willeth his horse to fall out and repel the en-
emy, but not to follow the chace too farre. The Parthians (the x. force das b gone
to be more cool), and neither charged nor were charged, end-making winter their pre-
tence, were glad to retire to their houses. By this precedent, wee may see, that
the Parthians (who were mighty in horfe) were ferece vpon the Romans
as long as they held their ordinary kinds of march, but after they had or-
dered them selves into a Plinthium, so that the Parthians could not come vp
to them without much indangering themselves, they thought it best to let
them quietly passe and goe whither they would. And thus much of the Di-
phalange Homolothorus and of the Plinthium.*

Words of direction in the Homolothorus.

1. Wheele your battailes (if they stand in even front) to the right or left
hand.

2. March one battaile after the other.

To restore to the first Posture.

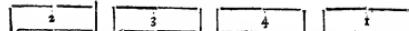
1. Face about to the right or left hand.
2. Wheele the battailes to the right or left hand, according as the case
requireth.
3. Face as you were at first.

Cap 43.

The Diphalange Heterothorus

The File leaders

The bringers

For the Plinthus.

If there be 4 battalies standing together in an even Front, this I would hold the fifteth way to make a Plinthus.

1 Let the first battale stand firm, or march on, going forward wheel to the right hand; in falling backe vse the Lacedemonian countermarch,

2 The 3 countermarch the front with a countermarch, then wheel to the left hand, then march forward, and place it selfe behind the right hand flanke of the first, that the Front of it may be in a right line with the said flanke.

3 The 4 in going forward, countermarch the rear with a Macedon countermarch, then wheel your battale to the right hand, face about, then wheel to the left hand; then march and apply it selfe to the point of the first battale, as the third did to the right; then face about, and stand thus:

4 The 2 countermarch to the right or left hand; then march on till it be beyond the left point of the 4 battale; then face to the left hand; and march up to lay the right-hand-point even with the right point of the 1 battale, and face to the right hand, to make the rearce of the Plinthus thus:

The severall bodies being brought into a *Plinthus*, must front every way as long as they make Alte. When they march in a *Plinthus*, they are all to face toward the head of their *Front* march; that is, the right and left flanke battalies are to face the one to the left, the other to the right hand; The reare battale is to face about to which hand it lif, and so march on.

The battalies beside haue every one their place of dignity: the first battale hauing the front, the 2 battale the reare, the 3 battale the right flanke, the 4 the left flanke.

Of the Diphalange Heterostomus.

C H A P. X L I I I .

(1) **Diphalange Heterostomus** is that which proceedeth by deduction, hausing the leaders of the former Phalange in a right-hand-deduction, and of the following Phalange in a left-hand-Deduction, so that the battalies march counterchangeably, one hausing the leaders in one flanke, the other in the other.

N O T E S.

2 A Diphalange Heterostomus.] As the Homostomus consisted of two Phalanges, & both proceeded by deduction, so must this forme. They dif-

The Tactics of Elian, or

fer in this onely, that the first had all the file-leaders on one side, either on the right or left; this the file-leaders of one battaile on the right, of the other on the left hand. For if the leading Phalange haue the file-leaders on the right-hand, the following Phalange shall haue them on the left: If the first haue them on the left, the other shall haue them on the right. See the figure. The vise of this forme is, when the enemy sheweth himselfe on both flanks of our march, and oft the double fided battaile, whereof Elian speake in the 36 and 37 Chapters, may be made by the fleuing vp the latter to the former, and joyning reare to reare: and if the leading battaile haue the file-leaders in the right-flank, it is to make aler when the enemy commeth neer, and the following battaile to fleue vp by the rear of it, to make an even front with the leaders of the first. Contrariwise, if it haue the file-leaders on the left hand: feedes, this orme hath further vise, and you may frame of it a Diphalange Antitonus, by fleuing vp the following battaile on that side where the file-leaders of the leading battaile march: for by such fleuing, the file-leaders of both halanges shall be in the middest.

Words of direction in the Herostomus.

There need few words of direction in this, onely if the two ordinary battailes stand in equall front, let the one wheele to the right, the other to the left hand, and so march the one before, the other after.

*Of the horse Rombe, and of the foot-halfe-moone
to encounter it.*

C H A P. XLIII.

(1)  He battaile framed in a forme of a Rombe, was first invented by Ieon the Thessalian, and was called *Ile* after his name; and to this forme he exercised and accustomed his Thessalians. It is of good vise, because it hath a leader on every corner: in the front the Captaine, in the rearre the Lieutenant, and on either side the flank-commanders. (2) The foot battaile fittest to encounter this, is the (3) Menoides or Crescent; hausing both the wings stretched out, and within them the leaders, and being embowed in the middest to eniron and wrap in the horse-men in their gitting on; whereupon the horse-men ply the foot a farre off with flying weapons, after the manner of the Tarantines, fecking thereby to dissolve and disorder their circled frame of march. Tarentum is a City in Italy, the horse-men wherof are called Acrobolists, because in charging they first cast little darts, and after come to hands with the enemy.

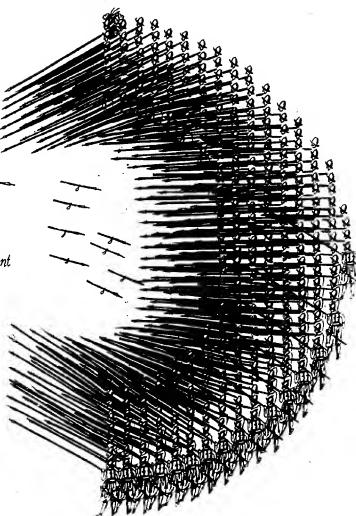
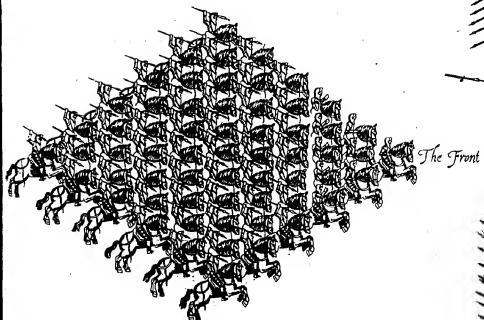
N O T E S.

THe battaile in forme of a Rhombe.] Of the Rhombe is sufficently spoken in Chap. 6, before and in the notes vpon the same Chapter: The manner of framing of it, and the divers kinds therof are there set down. The Thessalians

Cap 44

The half Moone or Menoides of sorte

The Rombe of Horse



Ians vsed not all those kinds but onely that which fleteth, but rankes not, as *Aelian* testifieth in the 46 Chapter, which kinde is there also described. It was accounted a forme of great violence, & in that forme the Thessalians got all there reputacion, being esteemed the best horse-men of Greece. *Aelian c. 46.*

2 *The foot battaile fifteth to encounter this.]* The aduantage that horse-men haue against foot is great, which is the caufe that foot-men haue fought to helpe them selues by diuers kind of embattailing to the end to supply by art, that which they want by force and strenght. Of which manner of embattailings, many are set down in *Aelian*. If more than one troope charge at once, you haue the Phalange, Amphistomus, Antistomus, and the Plinthium to refit. If but one troope, the Diphalange, Antistomus; All which kinds are before described by *Aelian*. In this Chapter is another kind described namely, the halfe moone, and there follow in other Chapters the plagiophalange, the E, picamios improposita, and the wedge: Of all which we are to discourse in order as they are remembred by our Authours.

3 *Is the Menocides or Cressant.]* Against the Rhombe of horse *Aelian* oppereth the Menocides of foot, a name of battaile borrowed from the shape of the moone. For *μένος* is the moone, and the word *εἶναι* (which is ioyned to make vp the composition) signifieth a full shape or forme. So the word importeth a shape or forme of the moon: and yet this battaile is not like all shapes of the moone, but like to the new moone when she hath two hornes, and hath the shape of halfe a circle as it were: In which forme *(is)* the Agyptian goddesse (which indeed was the moone, saith *Diodorus Siculus*) was pictured with two hornes from the shew which shew maketh being menocides, that is, the new moone, so is a wall sometime called, because of the hollow forme. As when the Rhodians hauing their wall shrewdly shaken by the engins of battery of *Demerius*, reated an inward wall in shape of a Cressant, which with the compasse, comprehended all the parts of the outward wal which were battered. The same *Diodorus* calleth it Menocides: the like was don by the Halicarnassians against *Alexander the Great*, and *Arrian* *Diod.Sic.l.10. p.783.* *Arr.4.1.12.6.* giueth it the name *ακρίβων πλυνθεῖται*; a brick halfe moon; the cause of the inuention of this forme, is laide out by *Onosander* & *Leo*. Oftentimes saith *Onosander*, *Onosander.c.21. p.65.* supposing that in charging the enemy wil be ready to ioyne man to man, that is, to enter *c. 101.19.451* into the semi-circle and fight with them that stand enbowed; in doing whereof, they will be hemmed and wraped in, in the halfe Circle, the wings of the halfe Circle being to be drawne together round about them, and the whole brought into the forme of a Circle. And *Leo* likewise: The figure bearing the resemblance of halfe a Circle, seemeth to be safe & firme; for it incluseth the enemy that cometh against it in the hollowe of the Circle, by drawing out the wings into a Circle on both sides, and winneth a rare courage to fight against them. The causes then to take vp this figure in fight are three; one the aduantage of multitude of forces in the field, whereby the Generall is enabled to encompass another, the ignorance of the enemy, that ventureth within the compasse of the halfe moone; the third, the effeasie of the figure which serueth to entrap the enemy that is not heedfull and wary in ioyning battaile. It hath bene vsed both against Horse and foot, and sometimes in Sea by one Navy against another, *Aelian* esteemeth it good against horse; no doubt when horse charge; and are resisted both in front, and pleyed alio with flying weapons in flanke, they finde a greater *F. 11*

The Tacticke of Aelian, or

fer in this onely, that the first had all the file-leaders on one side, either on the right or left; this the file-leaders of one battaile on the right, of the other on the left hand. For if the leading Phalange haue the file-leaders on the right-hand, the following Phalange shall haue them on the left: If the first haue them on the left, the other shall haue them on the right. See the figure. The vse of this forme is, when the enemy sheweth himselfe on both flanks of our march, and of it the double sided battaile, whereof Aelian speake in the 36 and 37 Chapters, may be made by sleeuing vp the latter to the former, and ioyning reare to reare: and if the leading battaile haue the file-leaders in the right-flank, it is to make aler when the enemy commeth neer, and the following battaile to sleeue vp by the reare of it, to make an even front with the leaders of the first. Contrariwise, if it haue the file-leaders on the left hand: Besides, this forme hath further vse, and you may frame of it a Diphalange Antistomus, by sleeuing vp the following battaile on that side where the file-leaders of the leading battaile march: for by such sleeuing, the file-leaders of both Phalanges shall be in the middest.

Words of direction in the Heterostomus.

There need few words of direction in this, onely if the two ordinary battailes stand in equall front, let the one wheele to the right, the other to the left hand, and so march the one before, the other after.

*Of the horse Rombe, and of the foot-halfe-moon
to encounter it.*

CHAP. XLIII.

(1)  He battaile framed in a forme of a Rombe, was first inuented by Ileon the Thessalian, and was called *Ile* after his name; and to this forme he exerced and accustomed his Thessaliens. It is of good vse, because it hath a leader on every corner: in the front the Captaine, in the reare the Lieutenant, and on either side the flank-commanders. (2) The foot battaile fittest to encounter this, is the (3) Menoides or Crescent; hauing both the wings stretched out, and within them the leaders, and being embowed in the middest to enuiron and wrap in the horse-men in their giuing on: whereupon the horse-men ply the foot a farre off with flying weapons, after the manner of the Tarantines, seeking thereby to dissolue and disorder their circled frame of march. Tarentum is a City in Italy, the hose-men wherof are called Acrobolists, because in charging they first cast little darts, and after come to hands with the enemy.

Darters.

N O T E S.

THe battaile in forme of a Rhombe.] Of the Rhombe is sufficiently spoken in Chap. 6. before; and in the notes vpon the same Chapter: The manner of framing of it, and the diuers kinds therof are there set down. The Thessaliens

The Tacticke of Alian, or

fer in this onely, that the first had all the file-leaders on one side, either on the right or left; this the file-leaders of one battaile on the right, of the other on the left hand. For if the leading Phalange haue the file-leaders on the right-hand, the following Phalange shall haue them on the left: If the first haue them on the left, the other shall haue them on the right. See the figure. Theyse of this forme is, when the enemy sheweth himselfe on both flanks of our march, and of it the double fided battaile, whereof Alian speake in the 36 and 37 Chapters, may be made by the sleeuing vp the latter to the former, and ioyning reare to reare: and if the leading battaile haue the file-leaders in the right-flank, it is to make ale when the enemy commeth neer, and the following battaile to sleeue vp by the reare of it, to make an even front with the leaders of the first. Contrariwise, if it haue the file-leaders on the left hand: Besides, this forme hath further vse, and you may frame of it a Diphalange Antitonus, by sleeuing vp the following battaile on that side where the file-leaders of the leading battaile march: for by such sleeuing, the file-leaders of both I halanges shall be in the middest.

Words of direction in the Heterostomus.

There need few words of direction in this, onely if the two ordinary battailes stand in equall front, let the one wheele to the right, the other to the left hand, and so march the one before, the other after.

Of the horse Rombe, and of the foot-halfe-moone
to encounter it.

C H A P. XLIIII.

(1)  He battaile framed in a forme of a Rombe, was first invented by Item the Thessalian, and was called *Ile* after his name; and to this forme he exercized and accustomed his Thessalians. It is of good vse, because it hath a leader on every corner: in the front the Captaine, in the reare the Liu tenant, and on either side the flank-commanders. (2) The foot battaile fittest to encounter this, is the (3) Menoides or Crescent; having both the wings stretched out, and within them the leaders, and being embowed in the middest to eniron and wrap in the horse-men in their gowing on: whereupon the horse-men ply the foot a farre off with flying weapons, after the manner of the Tarantines, seeking thereby to dissolute and disorder their circled frame of march. Tarentum is a City in Italy, the horse-men whero are called Acrobolites, because in charging they first cast little darts, and after come to hands with the enemy.

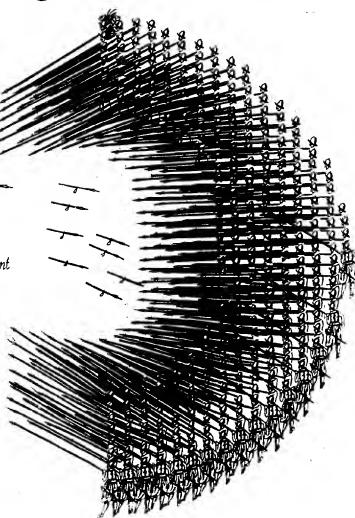
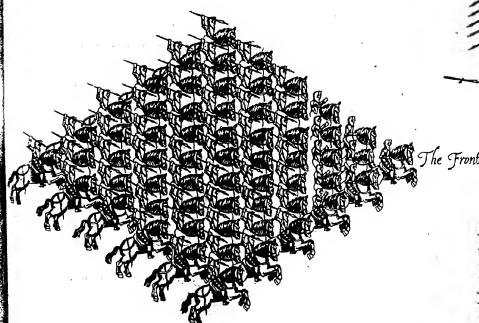
N O T E S.

¹ **T**He battaile in forme of a Rombe.] Of the Rhombe is sufficently spoken in Chap. 6. before and in the notes vpon the same Chapter: The manner afframing of it, and the diuers kinds therof are there set down. The Thessalians

Cap. 44

The last Mome or Memories of foot

The Rombe of Horse



Iians vsed not all those kinde but onely that which fleteth, but rankes not, as *Aelian* testifieth in the 46 Chapter, which kinde is there also described. It was accounted a forme of great violence, & in that forme the Thessalians get all there reputation, being esteemed to be the best horse-men of Grecce. *Aelian c. 46.*

2 *The foot battaille first to encounter this.]* The advantage that horse-men haue against foote is great, which is the cause that foot-men haue sought to helpe themselfes by diuers kind of embattailing to the end to supply by art, that which they want by force and strenght. Of which maner of embattailings, many are set down in *Aelian*. If more then one troope charge at once, you haue the Phalange Amphistomus, Antistomus, and the Plinthus to resift : If but one troope, the Diphalange Antistomus ; All which kinds are before described by *Aelian*. In this Chapter is another kind described namely, the halfe moone, and there follow in other Chapters the plagiophalange, the Epicampios emprostis, and the wedge : Of all which we are to discouer in order as they are remembred by our Authours.

3 *Is the Menocides or Cressant.]* Against the Rhombe of horfe *Aelian* opposeth the Menocides of foot, a name of battaille borrowed from the shape of the moone. For *μῆνη* is the moone, and the word *εἴσοι* (which is ioyned to make vp the composition) signifieth a full shape or forme. So the word importeth a shape or forme of the moon : and yet this battaille is not like all shapes of the moone, but like to the new moone when she hath two horns, and hath the shape of halfe a circle as it were : In which sence *Isis* the Egyptian goddesse (which indeed was the moone, saith ^a *Diodorus Siculus*) was pictured with two horns from the shew which shee maketh being menocides, that is, the new moone, so is a wall sometime called, because of the hollow forme. As when the Rhodians hauing their wall shrewdly shaken by the engines of battery of *Demetrius*, reared an inward wall in shape of a Cressant, which with the compasse, comprehended all the parts of the outward wal which were battered. The same *Diodorus* calleth it Menocides: the like was don by the Halicarnassians against *Alexander the Great*, and *Arrian* ^b *Diod.Skl.10.* p.783. ^c *Arr.1.1.122.C.* giueth it the name *επίθετη πλευρα*, a brick halfe moon; the cause of the inuenition of this forme, is laide out by *Onosander* & ^d *Leo*. Oftentimes saith *Onosander*, ^e *Onosander.c.21.* ^f *Onosander.c.45.* ^g *Onosander.c.45.* ^h *Onosander.c.45.* those that haue great numbers of men in the field, are wont to figure them into a Cressant, supposing that in charging the enemy wil be ready to ioyne man to man, that is, to enter into the semi-circle and fight with them that stand enbowed ; in doing whereof, they will be hemmed and wraped in in the halfe Circle, the wings of the halfe Circle being to bee drawne together round about them, and the whole brought into the forme of a Circle. And *Leo* likewise : The figure bearing the resemblance of halfe a Circle, seemeth to be safe & firmes for it incloseth the enemy that cometh against it in the hollowesse of the Circle, by drawing out the wings into a Circle on both sides, and giueth a ore courage to fight against them. The causes then to take vp this figure in fight are three; one the aduantage of multitude of forces in the field, whereby the Generall is enabled to encompass; another, the ignorance of the enemy, that ventureth within the compasse of the halfe moone ; the third, the effacie of the figure which serueth to entrap the enemy that is not heedfull and wary in ioyning battaille. It hath beene vsed, both against Horse and foote, and sometimes in Sea by one Navy against another, *Aelian* esteemeth it good against horse ; no doubt when horfe charge ; and are resisted both in front, and pleyd also with flying weapons in flanke, they finde a greater

The Tacticke of *Elian*, or

opposition and disadvantage, then when they are received in front alone; In square battailes of foot the front lying even, the horse in charging abide only the danger before, whereas in the hollow fronted battailes of foot, such as are this form, and the Epicampios emprostria, they are endangered also in flanke, yea in both flanks, & cannot enter the hollownesse of the front without losse of many of their horse, the depth of the hollowness being as strong (in hauing the file-leaders in front, and the depth of the file the same) as a square battaile to resist, and the wings plying and infesting them with all sorts of flying weapons: against foot it hath beene vfed oftentimes, and it is the only forme that the Turks by reason of his multitudes, vseth both with horse and foot against Christians at this day.

Eloc. 19.5.41. The Crescent may be framed not only before fight, but also in the heat of fight: Before the fight, you haue an example of the Lacedemonians against *Epinomondas*, which I haue cited at large in my notes vpon the 30 Chap. *Leo* also setteh downe the manner of casting a Navy into alCres-fant before fight. During the fight, *Aratus* the elder framed al-Cres-fant against the Lacedemonians: *Pausanias* reciteth it in this manner; In the battaile of the Lacedemonians against the Mantineans, The Mantineans, first he, had the right wing, all the rest of the Arcadians the left. The middest was assigned to *Aratus*, and to the Sicyonians, and Acheans. Agis King of Lacedemon, and the Lacedemonians stretched out their battaile to innade the front of the enemy. Agis and his tropes stood in the middest. *Aratus* after he had imparred his purpose to the Arcadians, fled himselfe, and with him that part of the army which he commanded, as if he feared the imprestion of the Lacedemonians; in giving backe he brought the army into the forme of an halfe moone. The Lacedemonians and Agis thinking they had the victory in their hands, pursued *Aratus* and his troopes more egerly. The wing followed the King, esteeming it no small conquest to haue foyled *Aratus*. In the meane time they preceiveth not the Arcadians that were at their backe: and the Lacedemonians being encompassed round about, lost both many other of their army, and Agis also their King, the sonne of Eudamidas was slaine. *Leo* also in sea-fight giueth his Generall counsell how to entrap his enemy with a shew of flight; in giving backe with fashioning an halfe moone: These be his words in effect; If a Generall be to retire before the enemis Navy, let him retire, fashioning his Navy into a battaile Menoidea, and sailing with his pouces forward, and so leare to shunne the enemy: For if he flye not, but retire fighting, he shall haue his ships ready to turne upon the enemy with their prows bent against him. And if need require, he may retire with his pouces toward the enemy: for the enemy shall not dare to enter into the hollownesse for feare of being encircled. So *Leo*. The Menoidea therefore may be framed during fight; but this caution is to be remembred, that in sudden transmutacions of battailes, you vse not the seruice of raw scouldiers, but of such as haue experience, lest all be brought into confusione, and the enemy charge you while you are changing your forme. Now as forme of aduantage are to be sought against the enemy; so is it needfull to aduise what best opposition is to be made against such battailes: in case the enemy vse them. The Rombe of horse was of old time accounted a forcible figure against foot; the horse therein had the better. The Menoidea was invented to resist and ouerthrow the horse: The foot had beene the better; what was then best for the horse: to abstaine from charging (saith *Elian*) and to ply the foot with mischiefe weapons, to the end to force them to break their

the Art of Embattailing Armies.

their strong forme of embattailing. So now they stand vpon equal: termes and the foot can with their shot annoy the horse, as well as the horse can annoy the foot. *Elian* then fneweth a meanes for the horse to auoide the danger of this manner of embattailing: for foot vsing this forme against foot, he fneweth no remedy. I will set downe what I finde: and here I neede not to repeat the remedy, that ^b *Epinomondas* vsed against the Lacedemonian halfe-moone: it is related at large in my Notes vpon the 30 Chap. ^b *Diod. Sic. l. 15.496.* ^c *Orosian.* ^d *Onofrand. cap. 66. Leo. cap. 20.* ^e *I. 18A.* der giueth this aduise: Divide your battaile, saith hee, into 3 parts: with the two outward charge the Enemis wings: the third, that is ordered against the middle, and as it were, the boosome of the Crescent, advance it not, but let it stand firme: for either they that are placed in the middest of the Crescent, shall stand idle, or else aduancing in an even front, will throng one another and breake their battaile. For the two fronts fighting in the wings and keeping their place, it is not possible for the halfe circle to come forward with an even front: when they are therefore confusd and haue brokē their array, let the third battaile that remained in the middest for seconds, charge it so, as they asforde, advance. If they still keepe their place in the botome of the halfe moone, oppose the light-armed and darters against them, who will exceedingly distreisse them with their mischiefe weapons: likewise you may doe well to frame a Loxe-phalange of your white Army, and with your two Loxes, charge the wings, presenting to the circling an encamping of the Menoideas. For the Enemy, being a long while hindred from coming to blowes with his whole Army, shall bee kept in play with a few, more fighting but shott only that are in the wings, which first of necessitie must ioyne, because of the oblique onset. It will not bee a misse also, liuerly to retire with the Army sometimes, as though you were in feare; or else facing about to make your retreat orderly, as if you fled; and afterward turning sudely to meeete the Enemie that preffeth upon you. For sometimes the Enemie being overjoyed in the imagination of a true flight, doth follow vndiscidely, and make a disorderly pursuit; every man preſting to be formost, vpon whom you may retorne without danger, and againe chase them that folow you; who will be struckē with a feare that you dare, contrary to their expectation, turne again & make head against them. Onofrand giueth here three wayes to reſift the Menoideas: one by diuiding your battaile into a Triphalange, & oppoſing two phalanges against the two wings of the Crescent, forbearing and standing firme, with the third till opportunity be to moue (which is the battaile that *Elian* opposeth against the Cælembolos.) The second by vſing the Loxe-phalange against it, as did *Epinomondas* at the battaile of Leustra against the Lacedemonian halfe moone, as I haue fnewed elsewhere, namely Chap. 30. §.7. The third in making scandale of flying; for the halfe moone is a forme, which in standing may well be kept whole, in mouing will foone be broken and fall into disorder, as ^a *Cicuta* an Italian writer noteſt very well. If then you faile to flye, keeping your men in order, the Menoideas following you will breake of it ſelfe, and lo you haue good opportunity to retorne, and in all likelihood to win the day againſt it, especially being in disorder. *Leo* giueth the ſame ^b *Lea. cap. 20.* aduice to his Generall, onely he ſpeaketh of Sea matters, *Onofrand* of Land ſeruice.

Words of direction for the Rhombes.

For the forming of the Rhombes, ſee the 19 Chapter, and my Notes vpon that Chapter, 6.6. ^c *Scut. de la Citt. s. 15.220.* ^d *Siphi-militar.* ^e *Fer.*

The Tacticks of Aelian, or

For the Crayon.

- First order your body into a long square, Plagiophalanx.
 1 The 2 file-leaders in the middest of the square, stand.
 2 The next 2 on either hand, mouue forward one foot before the other two, their files moving withall, and holding their distance.
 3 So the 4 next file-leaders each before other, on either side a foot.
 4 Then two more on either side, aduance before the rest that mouued two foot a peece.
 5 Then the 2 next on either side, 3 foot apeece.

To restore to the first Posture:

Face about. Moue all at once (excepting the 2 middle files) and take your first ground.

Of the Horse-battaile Heteromekes, and the Plagiophalange to bee opposed against it.

CHAP. XLV.

HE horse-battaile Heteromekes is that, which hath the depth double to the length. It is profitable in many respects. (2) For seeming to bee but a few in so small a breadth, it deceiueth the Enemie, and easily breaketh his forces with the thicknesse & strength of the embattailing, and may without perceiuing be led throughe straight and narrow passages. The (3) foot battaile to encounter is called the Plagiophalange, or broad fronted battaile. For being but slender in depth, it beareth foorth and extendeth it selfe in length, so that albeit it be broken in the middest with the charge of Horse, yet is nothing broken but a little of the depth, and the fury of the Horse is carried not vpon the multitude of foot, but straight and immediatly into the open aire and field. And for that cause is the length thereof much exceeding the depth.

NOTES.

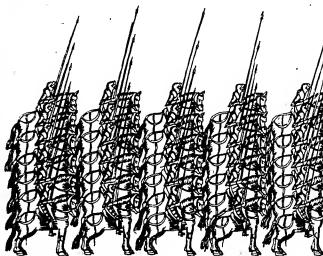
OF the 2, battailes Heteromekes and Plagiophalanx I have spoken before in my notes vpon the thirtieh Chapter. The Heteromekes is a kinde of Herse, the Plagiophalange the broad fronted battaile therein mentioned.

2 For seeming to be but a few.] Amongst all the stratagems vsed in Warre, it hath beeene accounted alwayes a master piece of skill to deceiu the Enemie with shew of forces, that are in any Army: sometime with semblance of more men, then wee haue, to feare him, sometime with concealing our number, to prouoke him rashly to fight, and aduenture himselfe in battaile. Of these two kindes we haue an example in Cesar at the siege of Gergoniz.

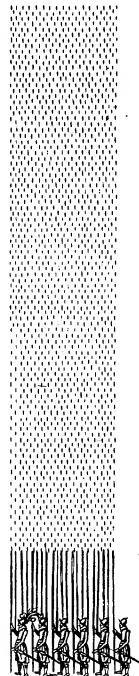
Cap 45.

Plagiophalanx, or ye broad fronted
battaile of foot

Heteromekes, or ye Horse of Horse



The front



Gergouia. Cæsar himselfe writeth thus : When Cæsar came into his lesser Campe *Cæsarde bell gall* (hee had two Campe at that siege) to take view of his workes, he perceiued that the *7.7.63.4.8.1.* hill, which was holden by the Enemie, was become emptie of men, which hill a few dayes past, could hardly be scene for the multitude, that concerred it. Maruellung therat, he asked of the run awaies the cause (of whom great numbers came flocking to him every day.) It appeared by all their reports, which Cæsar also understanded by his owne Scouts, that the ridge of the hill was almost even, but yet woodsy and narrow by which the e was access to the other part of the towne. That the Enemie mightly feir'd that place, and were now of opinion, that seeing the Romans had gained one hill, if the shold lose the other, they shold seeke well nigh encloed round about with a trench, and shut up from issing out, and from forrage; that all were called out of the Citie by *Vercingetorix* to fortifie the place. Cæsar hauing gotten this intelligence, sent at midnight driers troopes of horse thither, and command'd them to rid vp and downe in all places with greater tumult, then their manner was. Assone as it was day, hee willed a gratt number of carriage-horse and Mules to be brought out of the Campe, and their pads shold be taken off from them, and that the Muleters putting on head-pieces, shold ride about the hills in them, as if they were horse-men. To these he added a few Horse, who were to spread themselves abroad here, and there, to amase the Gaules the more. Hee willed them to ad.dresse themselves, and to draw to one and the same place, searching a large compasse about. These things were scene a farre of out of Gergouia (for from thence the Campe might well be discerned) and yet in such distance, it could not bee certainly perceiued, what the matter was. He sent a legion along the ridge of the same hill, and placed it (drawing it a little further forward) in the nether grounds below, and hid it in the woods. The Gaules here *A people in Note.* at increas'd their suspition, and all the forces appointed for the fortifications of their Campe were led thither. Cæsar eyffing the Campe of the Enemie to be vido of men, conueid Souldiers stragling, as it were, and not in troopes, from the greater Campe unto the lesser, hidin those things by which they might be knowne, and coverring their ensignes of Warre, lest haply they might bee discried out of the towne; and gaue instructions to the Legats, whom he had set over every Legion, what he would haue done. After these directions hee gaue the signall : the Souldiers after the signall given, with ali spred fell vp to the Munitio, and entring, made themselves masters of thre Campe of the Enemie. And the speed of their surprise was such, that Theutomarus King of the Nitiobrigians, being suddenly surprised in his Tent, as he rested a lone norne, the upper part of his body being naked, had much adoe to save himselfe vpon his horse (which was also wounded in escaping,) from the hands of the ringing Souldiers. This example of Cæsar containeth the two kinds before remembred of deceiving the Enemie. For hee both made a greater shew of horsemen, then hee had, by setting Muleters on horse-backe, and giuing the head-pieces, and also dissembl'd the number of them, who were in the lesser Campe, which gaue vpon the Enemies workes, by conveying Souldiers out of the m. Campe piece meale, as it were, and one after another. The whiche policy yeelded victory to Cæsar against the Gaules before : as you may see in the fist booke of his Commentaries. And in this very kinde, that Ælian speaketh of, that is, in making his front narrow and his battaille deepe, and so dissembling his forces, *Cleandridas* the Lacedemonian *Cæsare debilgat.* wonne a noble battaile against the Thurians, as I haue noted in the nine and twentieth Chapter of this booke. Examples of the manner of these flights are every where to be found in Histories.

The Tactic of *Elian*, or

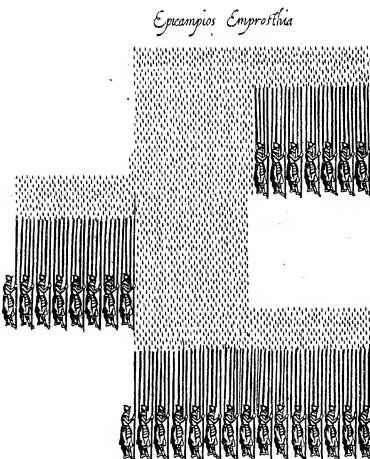
3 The foot battaile to encounter it.] Divers kindes of battailes are fitter (as I conceiu) to bee oppoised against this horse-battaile, then the Plagiophalange. And, I take it, it is not therefore here set downe as the best forme to encounter, and repulse the horse, but rather to shew, that, if you bee not otherwise able to auoide them, you may in this forme sustaine the lesser losse. For so much importes the reason of *Elian* viz, that, if you be broken in the middest by the horse, yet is nothing broten, but a little of the depth, and the fury of the horse is carried into the open field, & not vpon the rest of the foot. If your foot battaile were flanked with a river, wood, trench, wall, or some such other strength, I would the well hold with this reaon. For then might the foot open (as in the Dinalang Antistomus) and suffer the horse to passe through, and to fall i[n] to the riuier, or vpon that strength, which you were flanked with all. But when the horse breaketh through your foot, and passe into the open field, they haue aduantage to turne againe vpon your backe, and freedom of so many charges, as they liue to gaine vpon you. The Plinithium, the halfe Moone, the Epicampios, or hollow-fronted battaile described in the next following Chapter, and the wedge of foot, are to be preferred before the Plagiophalange. For all these kindes are intended to repulse horse, in what forme soever they gaine on, and some of them, in case the horse be forward i[n] charging, to ouerthrow and discomfit them. Of some of these we haue spoken before, other some follow to be treated of. The Heteromekes horis battaile, is not in our daies much viced, except it be in marching. The great Commanders of our tyme, rather in fight, order their horse into a Plagiophalange whose forme they hold more fit for thesse of the weapons of our age. But the Plagiophalange of foot remembred by *Elian* to encounter horse, ought to be very shallow in depth. For if it shoulde be according to the old fashion, 16, in depth (which number the fite of the Macedonians held) or according to our custome 10. I see not how it is possible for a troope of horse to break it, or to passe through it in the open field, the depth of the battaile being sufficient to sustaine the charge of any horse. How the Heteromekes, and how the Plagiophalange are framed, I have taught before in the thirtieth Chapter.

Of another kinde of Rhombe for horse-men, and of the foot-battaile
called Epicampios Emprostria to
encounter it.

CHAP. XLVI.

(1)  Nother sort of Rhombocides there is, whereof I neede say no more, but that it fileth, and ranketh not. I haue before shewed the vse thereof; and that *Ilion* the Thesfalian was the inuentor, and that *Iason* Medeas husband put it in practise: the vse thereof is great, it being directed and led in the fourte fides by the Captaine, the Lieutenant, and the two flanke-commanders. It is commonly fashioned of Archers on horse-backe, as the Armenian, and Persian manner is.

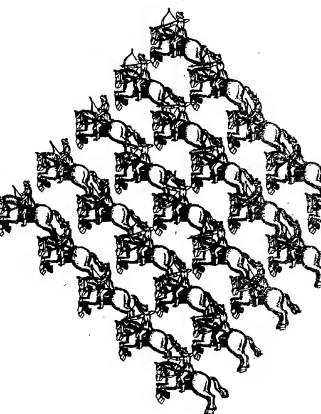
Against it is oppoised the foot-battaile, called (2) Epicampios Emprostria,



Epicampios Emprostria

Cap. 46.

The Rhombe



Rhombia, the hollow fronted battaile because the circumduction of the front is like an embowing. The end of this forme is to deceiue and ouer-reach the Archers on horse-backe, & ther by wrapping them in the void space of the front, as they charge, and giue upon the spine, or else disordering them first with the wings, and breaking their fury, by ouerthrowing them finally with their rakes about the middle Ensignes. This kinde of battaile was deuided to entrappe and beguile. For opeing the middle hollownesse, it maketh shew but of a few, that march in the winges, hauing notwithstanding threē as many following and secondeing in the reare. So that, if the wings bee of power sufficient for the encounter, there needeth no more: if not, retiring easilly on either side, they are to toyne them selues to the bulke of the battaile.

N O T E S.

(1) *A Nother sorte of Rhomboeides there is.]* The inscription of this Chapter here mentioneth not to bee right; because the forme of the Rhomboeides here mentioned, differeth not, but is the same, that was last spoken of. In the former hee fad it was inuented by *Ileon* the Thessalian, and in use amongst the Thessalians, and called *ile* of his name. In this hee saith as much, adding onely that *Iason*, *Medea*'s husband, who was also a Thessalian, put it most in practise. So that the Rhombes seeme to be all one, and the inscription of the Chapter either corrupted or mistaken; and that it ought to bee *of the Rhombe and the hollow-fronted battaile to encounter it.* I need say no more of this Rhombe, the forme of it, the manner of framing, and the difference of it from other Rhombes are sufficiently declared in other places before.

(2) *Against it is opposed the Epicampios Emprosthia.]* About the forme of this battaile there is also some difference amongst the learned. *Casaubon* in his translation of *Polybius* translateth ^a *Epicampios* in Greeke by the Latin word ^b *Forfex*. Of whose opinion ^c *Influs Lipsius* feereth to be. If I differ from so great learned men vpon good reaeson and authoritie, I hope, I shall not incurre the opinion of arrogancy, when I haue spoken, what I thinke, let the Reader judge, as hee pleaueth: I preudicate no mans opinion. For the *forfex* (tonges) or *Forfex* (sheeres) which ^d *Lipfins*, and *Casaubon* hold to be all one with the Epicampios, ^e *Vegetius* resembleth them to the letter V. His words are these: *Against it (that is against the wedge) the forme of battaile is opposed, which they call Forfex.* For this is a kinde of battaile framed of the choicer Soldiers to the likenesse of the letter V, and it receiueth and striketh with in it the wedge. *Vegetius* saith, the Forfex or Forceps is like the letter V. Of this forme is the Cælembolos in *Alian*; and resembled to the same letter in expresse termes; as you may see in his thirtie sixe Chapter. So that hauing the same forme, it must be the same battaile, howsouer they differ in the Greeke and Latine names. This being so, and seeing *Alian* in this Chapter describeth the Epicampios by it selfe, and in another Chapter the Cælembolos by it selfe giuing a different forme to them both, there is no probability to think they shoulde be one. Now besides the forme here set downe by *Alian*, (which is to bee marked, as it is described,) the description of *Xenophon* shewes the forme of the Epicampios Emprosthia, out of whose words a man may easily discerne, that the Cælembolos and it are not all.

one. For he resemblmeth it to two [put togither, that is one Gamma on one side, another Gamma on the other. Put therefore two Gammas togither in this sort ['] and you haue the perfect forme of the Epicampios Emprosphia. The passage is worth the recitall, although it be somewhat long. For it both containeth the forme of the battaile, and the manner of opposition against it. Thus then he writeth concerning the field fought betwixt Cyrus

Xenopis
173.A.

² τὸν γενυτῆρα
τριπλοῦντι
εἰσαν
δι τοῦ ἐπεκτού.
Enemy had made ² the inflexion on both sides before, and extended their wings; doest thou perceive, said he to Chrysanthes, where they have made their ³ inflexion? Yes, said Chrysanthes, and I marvel at it. For, me thinke, they draw their wings to farre forward from the front of their own Phalange. True, said Cyrus, and from our Phalange too. But why do they so? because they feare, left the wings being necer to us, and their Phalange yet farre off, we shold gaine upon the wings. But how said Chrysanthes, can they in so great distance second one another? It is evident, said Cyrus, that when their wings shall come up, and be right against our flanks, they will turne faces and Phalange wise come against vs on all sides, and fight with vs cur' way.

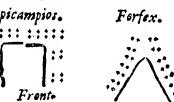
Thus Xerophon of the forme and vse of this battaile; the forme being like two Gammas [Gamma], on either side cloed, the vse to encompass the aduers battaile, and to fall upon it on all sides. And yet the forme and practise of the forme together with the manner to oppose aginst, will more plainly appear in the following words: *Croesus, saith Xenophon, thinking that the Phalange (viz. the middesse of the battaile) with which himselfe had
was nearer to the Enemie, then the wings, which were stretched forth in length, gave a signall to the wings, not to proceede further, but to face to the Enemie in the ground, where they stood; when they had all turned their countenances toward the Army of Cyrus, he gaue them another signe to goe and charge the Enemie.* So i^t is three Phalanges set themselves against Cyrus Army; the first against the front, the other two, one against the right-flanke, the other against the left: So that the whole Army of Cyrus were put into a great feare. For as a small Plumbum comprehendeth a great one, so was the Army of Cyrus being enuironed every where with the Enemies horse, and armed foot, and Targettes, and Archers, and Chariots, sauing onely in the reare. Notwithstanding assoone as Cyrus commanded, they turned their faces against the Enemies: The silence on both sides was great for dread of that, which was expected. But when Cyrus thought meete, he began the Pean, and all his Army answered him. After this they shewed together, and Cyrus putting stirres to his horses, with his forces gaue upon the Enemis flanke, and with all speed came to handes. The foot pre-sently following in good order wrapped in the Enemie here and there, and had a great deale the better; For they charged the wing in a Phalange, so that the Enemy was foorthwith put to flight: hitherto Xenophon. In which latter words we may see the forme of the Epicamptos more fully expressed. For first he sheweth that wings of the Phalange of *Croesus* were advanced a good way before the front of the Phalange it selfe. Then that the front of these wings advanced, came up as far as the reare of *Cyrus* his Phalange. Thirdly, that they marched,

the Art of Embattailing Armies.

vp in a right line. For *Xenophon* resemblmeth *Cyrus*: his battaile to a little Plinthium; the battaile of *Cresus* to a great Plinthium, so that both battailes must be square & figured on all sides in right lines, as we haue in the 42 Chap. Fourthly, that the front of the Epicampions must be hollow to receive and claspe in, as it were, the aduerse battaile: the two gammaes (whereof *Xenophon* speake before) ioyned together in the vpper part being a true resemblance of the front of this battell. The manner of the oppositiōn against it is likewise deſcribed by *Xenophon*. First *Cyrus* staid till the wings of the Epicampions were *Front.*
 come vp even, and turned their faces against his flanks. Then when they were come vp, commanded he his flanks to face toward them to receive the charge. When the fight was begunne, *Cyrus* from the rearre with referes of horſe and foot gaue vpon the flanks of the wings of the Epicampions (for in the fight, by reaſon of turning of their faces towards the flanks of *Cyrus* his Phalange, their flanks were towards *Cyrus* his rearre) and so charging them in flankē and from they were easily defeated. To returne then to the comparison of the *Forcess* and the *Epicampions*, by this example out of *Xenophon* the difference betwixt them may easily appear: the *Epicampions* making 2 angles in the bottome of the hollow front, the *forceps* but one, & the angle in the *forceps* is acute, the 2 angles in the *Epicampions* both right angles, & the figures differ as much one frō another,
 as the square doth from the triangle.

Epicampions.
Forcess.

Front.



as the two gammatas ioyned together differ from the letter V. *Elian* in this Chapter sheweth no otherwise of the Epicampios, but against horic, but the vse is no lesse againt foot, as the former example teacheth, & many other, which are to be found partly in History, partly are mentioned in my notes vpon this booke. A notable experiance of this forme you may see noted vpon the 28 Chapter of this Booke, in the fight betwixt Scipio & Afridiwall; another in the battaile of *Miltiades* at Marathon, against the Persians: likewise in the battaile of *Narsis* against the Franks, of which I shall haue occasion to speake hereafter. For the framing of this battaile the words of direction may be these: First, make a broad fronted Phalane. Then, Anaglypta vred
this term again
SANCUS BUDOR
Sua. 1516.686.

- 1** Advance your right and left wings, and let the middest of the battle stand firme. Under the name of the wings, I understand so many files as shall be thought enough to march out to make the hollow front: the bringers vp of wings must ranke with the file-leaders of the middest.

2 Face and charge into the hollownesse of the front.

To restore to the first Posture.

- 1 Wings, face about to the right or left hand.
 - 2 March and ioyne with the body in an euen front.
 - 3 Face as you were first.

There is added by some translators of *Aelian* an Epicampios opisthia to the Epicampios emprostha. This battaile they would haue to be signified in their words. *This kind of battaile was deuised to entrap and beguile.* But hee that shal weigh the words following, shal see that *Aelians* meaning is to describe the Emprostha more fully, even in the selfe same place. For he spe-

The Tacticks of Aelian, or

keth of the few that march in the wings, and of thrice as many that follow in the reare. Besides, he saith, that if the wings be not sufficient to repulse the enemy, they may retire and ioyne to the bulke of the body. The wings are therefore led on first, and the masse of the body followeth, whereas in the Epicampios opisthia the wings are stretched out behinde, and follow the body. And albeit there be in Aelian no words of the Opisthia, yet I may not deny that there is an Epicampiot Opisthia: *Suidas proueth it plainly; He defineth the ἐπικαμπίον ὄπισθία, thus: It is called ἐπικαμπίον when the battaile aduanceth against the enemy, and bath the wings drawne out in length on both sides behind.* The vse of the Opisthia is as it seemeth, to auoid the encircling or encompassing of an enemy, that hath a greater quantity of souldiers then we, and meanes to charge our reare. Alexander the Great, being farre inferior to Darius in multitude of men, vseth this forme at Arbela.^b Diodorus Siculus saith, that after he had ordered his battaile against Darius in a right front, hee framed an Epicampios behinde each wing, to the end that the enemy with his multitude might not encompasse the small number of the Macedonians. And this may suffice for both the formes of the Epicampios.

*a Suidas in Epi-
campis.*

*b Diod. Sic. L. 17.
592. Arr. C. 3. 60.
C. 31.*

Words of direction for the Epicampios Opisthia.

- 1 Aduance your body, and let the wings stand firme.
- 2 The wings of one flanke face outward to the right, the other to the left hand.

To ruffore, &c.

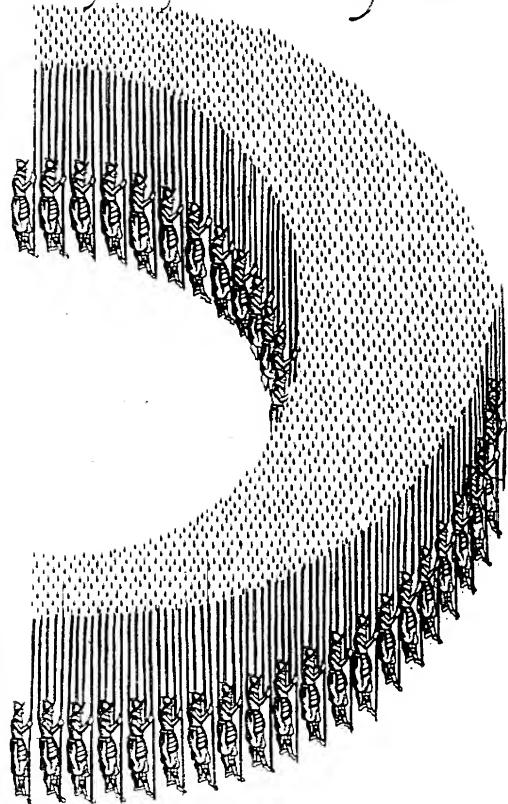
- 1 Wings face as you were.
- 2 March vp, and front with the middest of the body.

*Of the foot-battaile called Cyrite, which is to be set against
the Epicampios.*

C H A P. X L V I I .

- (1)  H E Battaille to be opposed against the Epicampios is called Cyrite of the circumferent forme. This also maketh semblance of small forces, by reason of the conuexity of the figure. For all round things seeme little in compass, and yet stretched out in length, and singled, they proue twice as much as they appeared to be. As is euident in Pillars which are round, and therefore in fight shew the one halfe, and conceale the other. The greatest piece of skill in embattailing, is to make shew of few men to the enemy, and in deed to bring twice as many to fight.

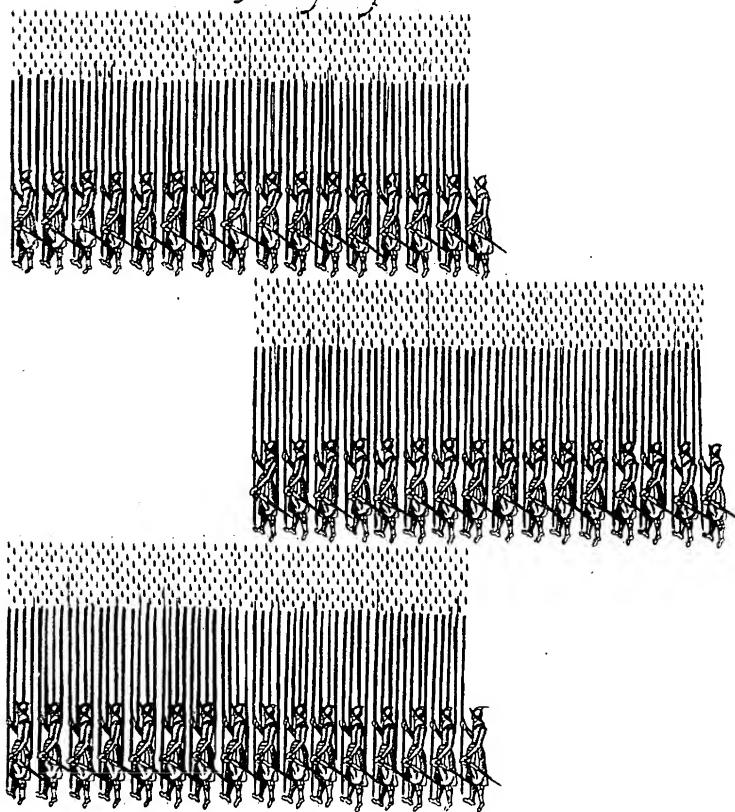
The Cyte or convex half Mane



Cap. 47.

The front

The Epicampos



the Art of Embattailing Armies.

65

NOTES.

TH E forme of this bataile, albeit it be a halfe Moone, and is called by *Polybius* Menocides, yet is it in a manner contrary to the Menocides described in the 44 Chapter of this Booke. That turned the concavuity or hallownesse backward toward the reare, and the two hornes against the enemy, and sought to encompass, this turneth the conuexe or outward part foremost, not the hornes, and endeauoureth to auoid encompassing: For the Epicampios, if a man should enter into the hallownesse thereof, claspseth him in, and is able to charge him in front; and on both flanks at one time. But the conuexe halfe Moone auoидing that danger, meeteth the enemy with the bearing out of the halfe circle, and giueth the two wings of the Epicam-pio enough to doe, being not to be annoyed with the depth of the hollownesse, which remaineth a petty distance more backward then the points of the wings. So that this forme is fit to be opposed against the Epicampios, and loseth no aduantage of embattailing: and it auoideth the perill of the hollow front by not entring, and yet maintaineth the fight against the two wings that are thrua out to encompass; being of sufficient strength to encounter the Epicampios, either of them not dissolving their forme, or notwithstanding that the wings of the Epicampios retire, as *Elian* prescribeth, when they are ouerpressed, or else the body of the hallownesse aduance to make an e qual front with the wings, and so vnite their force. Howbeit I haue not read in the Greeke history examples of this forme set against the Epicampios, or vsed otherwise in fight; onely I finde in *Polybius* at the bataile of Cannae: ha- Hannib al practised it against the Romans, not trusting to the strength of the forme, but rather with the shew thereof, couering a further drift to beguile and bring them into his snare. His words are in effect these: *Hannibal, saith he, embattailed his army thus; He placed on the left hand the Spanish and Celtis horse right ouer against the Roman horse: next to them of foot halfe the Lybian heavy armed; then the Spaniards and Celts, next them the other halfe of the Lybians. On the right wing he ordered the Numidian horse: After he had framed an even front of the whole Army, he aduanced the middle Spaniards and Gauls, and cast them into a conuexe halfe Moone, gathering up the depth therewith and making it thin, meaning to hide the Lybians with it, and despising the Libians behinde them as seconds. And a little after he declareth the manner of fight. Then the heavy-armed foot succeeding the light-armed, encountered together. The Spaniards therefore and Gauls a while bruely maintained their order and fight against the Romans; but being ouer-pressed, they turned their backs, and retired, dis-solving the forme of their halfe Moone. The Roman Cohorts couragiously following easily broke asunder the bataile of the Celts, which at first was ordered in a small depth; themselves transferring the thicknesse of their battaille from the wings of the middest, where the fight was; for the middest and the wings fought not at the same time. The middest began the fight first, because the Celts ranged in a halfe Moone, bore much more forward the wings, hauing not the hollownes but the prominent swelling of the halfe Moone lying out toward the enemy. So the Romans following & running together to the middest, where the enemy gaue ground, entered so far into the enemis battaille, that they had the heavy-armed Lybians on either of their flanks; of whom those of the right wing facing to the Target charged them on the right; those of the left wing, facing to the pike, gaue upon their left side, occasion it selfe shewing what was fit to be done: so that it chaced*

The Tatticks of Ælian, or

as Anniball had foreseen, that after the defeat of the Celts, the Romans purusing the victory, should fall out to be enclosed in the middest of the Lybians. So Polibius of the prominent halfe moon or Cyrtæ which Annibal viced; to which of purpose he gaue to make thinnesse, because it should be broken & beaten, and the enemy drawn into the snares as it were, and ambuth of the seconds, that is, of the Lybian heauy armed. If it had had the due proportion of depth, it might haue stood a longer time against the efforts of the enemy, and disputed the victory against the broad-fronted phalange; against which if it may be opposed, there is no question but it may be set against the Epicampios, because the broad-fronted phalange hath all her forces united together, the Epicampios fighteth only with her two wings, the middest of the battaile being faire from ioyning; vnlesse a man be compelled to enter into the holownesse of the front, in which case both the front and the wings may annoy him.

*Words of direction for the Cyrtæ or connexæ
halfe Moon.*

- First, order the body into a long square or Plagiophalange.
 1 Then let the two file-leaders in the middest of the square march out with their files.
 2 The next two on either hand moueright forward one foot short of the first, keeping distance in flanke, as before.
 3 So the next four, two on each side: the two next one foot short of the last, the other two one foot short of them.
 4 Then the next foure, two on each side, each two foot short of other.
 5 Then the foure last, two on each side, each three foot short of the other.

*Of the Tetragonall Horse-battaile, and of the wedge of foot to be
oppesed against it.*

CHAP. XLVIII.

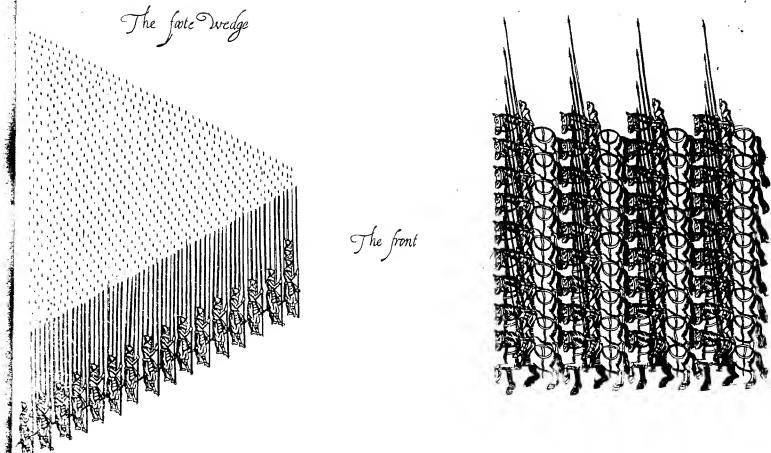
(1)  He Tetragonall horse-battaile is square in figure, but not in number of men. For in squares the number is not alwaies the same: and the Generall for his aduantage may double the length to the depth. The Persians, Sicilians, and most of the Greeks doe affect this forme, and take it to be easie in framing, and better in vise.

(2) Against it is oppesed the Phalange called Embolos, or Wedge of foot, all the side consisting of armed men. This kind is borrowed of the horse-mans wedge. And yet in the wedge of horse one sufficeth to lead in front, where the foot-wedge must haue three, one being vnable to beare the sway of the encounter. (3) So Epaminondas the Theban fighting with the Lacedemonians at Mantinea ouerthrew a mighty power of theirs by casting his army into a wedge. (4) It is fashioneer when the Antitomus Diphalangy

In

Cap. 48.

*The Horse-battaile square in figure,
not in horse,*



in marching ioyneth the front of the wings together, holding them behinde like vnto the letter A.

NO TES.

(1) **T**HIS Chapter containeth the description of two battails, one of horse, the other of foot to be opposed in fight one against another; namely the *square of horse*, and the *wedge of foot*. Of which the tetragonall horse-battle, *square in figure, or ground* (for all is one) is described in my notes vpon the 18. Chapter of *Aelian*, avalso the *wedge of horse*, from which this wedge of foot (as *Aelian* saith) is derived. It will be therefore needless to repeat, what is there written about the formes and diuersity of them; or to make comparison of their vse and aduantage. Against the Rhombe of horse, if they come to charge foote, he hath set downe two formes of foot to receiue them; the *Crescent* and the *hollow-framed* battaille called *Epicampios emprobus*: which vpon this eason, because they are hollow in front both, and the Rhombe shoothe forth and chargeþ in a point, must of necessity by receiving that point into their hollownesse, and plying it with their weapons on all sides, distrefse the Rhombe both in front and flanke, which is a dangerous kinde of fight, and such a one as fideleone may be tolerated or endured.

(2) Against the *square horse battaille* in figure or ground, he opposeth in this Chapter, the *wedge of foot*, which albeit it cannot with the like art wrappe in and encompasse the square, yet is it of force sufficient to breake and disfoure it, and so to disorder and deface it. For the square of horse having a large front and going with full speed to charge, falleth vpon the narrow front of the wedge, which according to *Aelian* ought to containe no more than three men, and they knitting themselves close, their pikes preuented and being seconded with the rest of their compaines behinde pretending their pikes likewise, receive the charge with a firme stand, so that onely the middest of the horse falling vpon the point of their front, cannot reach to the flanks of the wings thereof (because the wedge from the first narrowing groweth backward into an increasing breadth) without breaking of their forme, and altering of the front of their square, wherein they were ordered: which if they doe, their repulse cannot but follow, because they fight out of order. Now that the forme of the *wedge* in horse is able to endure the shot of the horse, that came against them in a *square*, appeareth by the 18. Chapter of this booke, where it is laid that *Philip* King of Macedon, *Alexander*'s father vsed this forme alone, and that *Alexander* himselfe ordered his horse in the same manner, who were both victorius in all their fields. That it is as good for foot against horse, besides the reasons before rehearsed may be evident by this, that the horse are in motion in the charge, and by that meane are soone disordered, whereas the foot stand fast, and keepe themselves seure to repulse the violence of the horse.

3. *So Epaminondas the Theban* This battaille is excellently described by ^{a Xenophon. Hellen. 177.645.D.} *Xenophon* in his seuenth booke of his history of the Grecians. His words found thus: *After Epaminondas had embattailed his army, as he thought fit, he led not straight way against the enemy directly, but declined westward toward the Tegaeian mountaines lying right over against the enemy, which bred an opinion, that he had no will to fight that day. For after he came up to the mountaine and had ta-*

The Tacticks of Elian, or

ken a view of his army, he caused them to lay downe their armes in the uppermost part of all, as if he meant to incuspe; and by this means alayed the preparation of fight, which most of the enimies had conceaved in minde, and likewise their care in maintaining their place and order in battaile. After steeing up to the front, his companies that marched in a wing, bee fashioned his whole army into a strong wedge. Then commanding them to take up their armes, he led on, and they followed. The enemy seeing him aduance contrary to their expectation, had no leisure to be fitl, but some ranne to their place in battaile, some embattailed themselves, some bridled their horses, some put on their carres, all were like to men, that were like rather receue, then give a strok to the enemy. Epammonidas led on his army like a galley with the proa ^a ainst the enemy, imagining that where soever he shold breake their array, he shold shewly overthow their whole army. For he resolued to bring the best and froughest part of his army to fight, casting the weakest behinde in the reare, knowing that being defeated they would discouer their countrey, and breed no courage in the enemy. The enemy ranged his horse like a phalange of armed foot in a great deeth without trying foot with them. But E. ammonidas made a strong wedge of his horse so illorring the ^c foot which had no heres, contyning that cursing asunder the enimies horse, it shold easily overthow their whole army. For you shall finde find an, that will make good their ground, after they see them of their own side, setke them selves to their feet. And to the end, to wth hold the Celtiberians from scouering shof: of the left wing next unto them, he placed both his se and foot right over to affix them upon the hills, to put them in feare of charging their rear, if they gave aduance to the enemy, so led he on to the charge, and was not deceipted of his hopes. For having the better wheresover he gaue on, he put the whole army of his auxiliaries to flight. So Xenophon. Where you may note not onely a square of horfe defeated by a wedge of horse, but also a square battaile of foot defeated by a wedge of foot. And to shew more plainly, that the forme of the wedge is forcible against a broad fronted Phalange, I will recite two examples more. The first is out of T. Linius, who writheth of a battaile fought betwixt the Romans and Celtiberians thus. The Celtiberians knowing that the Roman armie hauing spoylest their Country, would retire through a forrest called Manlius his forrest, hid themselves in it of purpose, to the exdo to fall upon the Romans upon advantage and unlooked for. When the Roman army had entred the forrest by day-light, the enimy rising out his ambush upon the sudden invaded them on both flankes, whch Flaccus (hee was the Roman Generall) seeing, stilled the tumult by the Capitaines commanding every man to his place, and armes, and bringing the baggage and carriage beasts together, he constantly and without feare embattailed his army partly by himselfe, partly by his Legions and by the Tribunes of the soldierns, as the time and place required. The enimy came on, and the skirmish was attatched in the vittermost parts of the Roman phalange, and at last the battailes ioyned. The first was hot in all parts, but fortune diuers: for the Legions behaved themselves bruely, and the auxiliarie in both wings as well. The mercenaries were hardly laid unto by the enemy (who bore the like armes, and was a better kinde of soldiern) & had much ado to make good their ground. The Celtiberians, when they saw they could not match the legions in the ordinary manner offight, and Ensigne against Ensigne, cast themselves into a wedge, and so assylied the Romans: in which kind of fight they are o' poverfull, that they are farsel to be resifted. Then the legions also branched, and the battaill was almost broken. Which danger when Flaccus perceivien, he rode to the legionary horsemens. And is there no helpe in you said he? This army will immediately be lost. When they cryed out at all hands,

^a drachas v^b 272.

^a a garrison. That is with the point of the wedge against the enemy.

^a Light-armed.

T. Linius.

the Art of Embattailing Armies.

hands, they would gladly doe what soever he commanded. Double the troopes, said he, of both legions, and with all your might force your horse against this wedge of the enemy, wherewith they preffers: you shall doe it more violently, if you give on, drawing off the horses bridles, which the Roman horsemen haue often done heretofore to their great commendation. They obeyed, and pulling off their horses bridles they passed & repasseid through the enemies wedge twice with great slaughter, everyone breaking his stiffe. The Celtiberians after the breaking and dispersing of their wedge, in which all their hope remained, began to be afraid, and almost quittng the fight, sought where they might best to save themselves. Hitherto Lucy. In which passage a man may observe the violence of the wedge, which if it be rightly managed, is of wonderfull power to breake and dispart any square it shall fall vpon. The other example or precedent, is out of Agathias, where he describeth the battaile betwix Narses (the Emperour ^a Linius Lieutenant, and Bucelinus Gene. ^a Agathias) ^b tall of the French-men. He hath thus. Narses when he came to the place where the fight should be, ordred presently his army into a Phalange. The horfe were ranged in the wings; Himselfe stod in the right wing, and next him Zandalas Capitaine of his followers, and with him all his mercenary and household seruants, that were not fitte for the warre, on either side of him was Valerian and Artabanus, who were commandid to hide themselves a while in the thicke of the wood, that was thereby and when the enemy royd, to fall out suddenly and unlooked for vpon them, and so put them into an amazement. The foot had all the space in the middest, and the file-leaders royd shoulder to shoulder being armid with curraies and other pieces of armour reaching downe to the foot, and with caskes: Behind them were other soldierns ordered even as farre as to the open fields. The light arme and such as vs d' flying weapons were cast in the reare, expecting a signall of employmant. The middest was reserved for the Heruli, and remained empty, because they were not yet come vp: Bucelinus advanced his battaile, and alran chearfully against the Romans, not leisurly, and in good order, but rashly and tumultuously, as if with the very cry they world haue rent asunder all that stood against them. The forme of their battaile was like a wedge: For it remembeth the letter Delta. And the front which shot out in a point, was couered and clof, by reason it was hemmed in with Targets (you woulde haue said they conterfected a swines head) but the flankes on each side lyeng on by files in depth, ^a V. Eg. 6. 3. 13. ^b caput porcione. and stretching backward by swiffe, by little and litle were parted and seuered one from another, an leving out still toward the reare ende: at last in a great disprise so that the ground in the middest betwix them was empty, and the backs of the soldierns that were in the wedge, appeared cleane through the files uncovered. For their faces were turned courravise one from another, to the end, they migh beare them toward the enemy, and save themselves from blowes, by casting their Targets before them, and seure their bucke by placing them opposite to the backs of their fellowes. All things fellow according to Narses his wiſh, to whom both a faire opportunity was presented, and who had wiſh before contrivid what was to be done. For when the Barbarians running on furiously fel vpon the Romans with a shout and outcry giving vp on the milder, they presently brake the front of those that stod in the void place, (for the Heruli were not yet come vp) and the leaders of the point of the wedd'g cutting asunder all that stod in their way, even to the vittermost depth of the file, and yet making no great slaughter, were carried beyond the bringers vp of Narses battaile, and some of them continued their course further, thinking to take in the Roman Camp. Then Narses presently turning about and extending out his wings, and making (as the Tacticks name it) an Epicamptos emprostria, commanded the archers on horfe

The Tacticke of *Aelian*, or

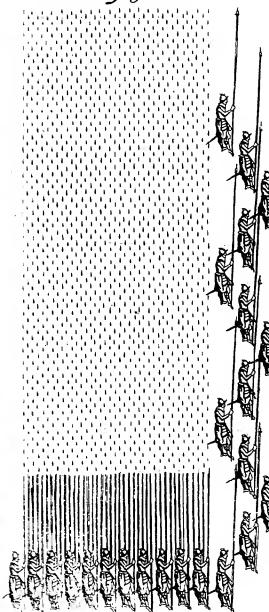
horsebacke to send their arrowes by turnes, upon the backs of the enemy, which they easily performed. For being on horsebacke higher then the Barbarian foot, they might at their pleasure strike them, as they advanced forward, being in a great bredth, and nothing to shadow them. Hitherto *Agathias*. It would be long to rehearse the rest of the battaile which he exagge Rath rhetorically. I haue recited so much, as both sheweth the strength of the wedge, and withall the manner which was vedy of *Narses*, to ouerthrow it. For I find three kinde of wayes which haue beeene practised to resist and defeat it. One by charging it with horse, before it enter the aduerse battaile, as *Flaccus* did against the Cæliberians. The second to frame the aduerse battaile empty in the middest (filling it with some fouldiers notwithstanding for shew) and when hee entreth the space, to pley his reare with shot, and charge it throughly as *Narses* did. The third to oppose against it a hollow wedge (which *Vegetius* calleth forxe) and receiuing and letting in the point of this wedge into the hollownesse of the other to clasp it in, and charge it on all sides. *Agathis* saith *Vegetius*, is opposed the battaile called forxe, a pure of sherees: For it is framed of the best and valiantest fouldiers to the similitude of the letter V, and it reuicteth in, and embraceth the wedge, so that it cannot breake through it.

4. It is fashioned when the Diphalange Antistomus.] This manner of framing a wedge is described by *Aelian* in the 35 Chapter: and yet that wedge set downe there openeth in front, keepeing the reare shut, and is oppoſed againſt the right induction, and called Cælembolos; here the wedge is deſcribed that openeth the reare, keeping the front cloſe, and is oppoſed againſt the square. But the manner of framing both standeth vpon one reaſon: For the file-leaders being placed within the Cælembolos, the front of

Front. Front.
V A
Cælembolos. Embolos. tot.

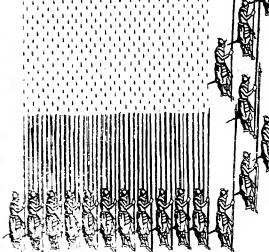
the battaile is opened and the reare kept cloſe: in the other, the file-leaders being without, the reare is opened, the front still maintained shut. Now the file leaders place is varied in either of them, because of the ſeuerall effects which they worke. The hollow fronted wedge Cælembolos ſeekeſt to hold the enemy together, & ſo defeat him. The other to diſpart and rour him, and ſo to gaine the victory. And because the ſtreſſe of the Cælembolos is within (for the flankes of the hollowneſſe clasp in the enemy, and fight againſt his flankes) therefore are the file leaders the formoſt that fight within; as likewiſe because the outſides of the wedge of this Chapter beare all the weight of the fight, therefore in it are the file leaders without. For as in al other battailes the file leaders ought first to attack the enemy, ſo is it likewiſe in theſe two formeſ. But where *Aelian* ſaith, that this battaile is made out of the Diphalange Antistomus, by ioyning the wings in front, and opening them behinde, I take the Text to be corrupted. For the Diphalange Antistomus hath the file leaders within, to reſift the horſe that charge them, as the 40 Chapter teacheth: this hath the file leaders without to breake the enemis battaile and diſtear it. The Cælembolos indeede is framed out of the Diphalange Antistomus: But the wedge of this Chapter ſpringeth out of the Phalange Antistomus, which hath the file leaders without. And ſo I am of opinion, it ought to be read in the Text. And yet there is no queſtion but another way of figuring the wedge may be practiſed then to leave it hollow behinde. In this Chapter it is called Embolos, and *Aelian* ſaith it is borrowed of the horſe-wedge: Now that the horſe-wedge is ſolid

The Peplymene

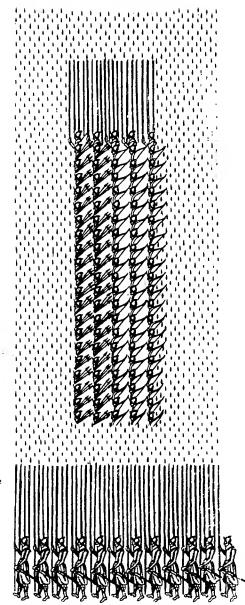


Cap. 49.

The front



The Plium



not hollow within, is plaine by the 19 and 20 Chapters of this booke, i will conclude this Chapter with the caution of *Vegetius*, which is this, that if you shill make a paire of tongs or a hallow wedge, you ought to haue referes in readinesse behinde the battaile, wherewith you may frame your tongs or wedge. And yet this caution holdeth not alwayes; For as a horie-wedge, so a foot-wedge may be framed without supernumeraries: as the 19 and 20 Chapters shew.

Of the foot-battaile called Plesium, and of the Winding or Saw-fronted battaile to encounter it.

C H A P. XLIX.

(1)  HE battaile Plesium hath the length much exceeding the depth. And it is called Plesium when armed foot are placed on all fides, the archers and slingers being thrown into the middest. Against this kinde of battaile is set the winding-fronted battaile, to the end that with the vngull figure it may traine out those of the Plesium to cope with them; and by that meanes dissolute and disorder the thicknesse of the same. And the file-leaders of the winding-fronted battaile obserue the file-leaders of the Plesium, that if they still maintaine their closenesse and fight secret, they also encounter them in the like forme. If the Plesium file-leaders feuer themselves and spring out from their maine force, then they likewise be ready to meet them man to man.

N O T E S.

THIS Chapter containeth two foot-battailes, one to be opposed against the other; the first called the *Plesium*, or hollow-square; the second the *winding-fronted-battaile* or *Peplgment*. Of which the first hath beene vied by all antiquity, especially by the Grecians, whensoeuer the enemis ouertopped in number, and they feared to be charged on all fides. It is called *Plesium* of the figure which is *square*; but originally and more particularly of the mould wherein bricks are cast. ^a Because the battaile hath the likenesse of the mould; as being both square, and also hollow within, as I haue noted before. Neither is this name given to a battaile alone, ^b *Plutarch* saith, that the chariot wherein *Alexander* rode, when he returned from the Indies quaffing and rioting, was framed *in ruderis*, that is, in a square hollow forme, and the Helepolis (an engin which ^c *Demetrius* invented to batter the Rhodian City) was tetragonal, and had 48 cubits in every side of the *Plesium*. But in a battaile, that is *Plesium*, saith *Aelian*, which

^a *Hath the length manifoldly exceeding the depth.*] The length of a battaile, as I haue shewed heretofore, is that which runneth from the point of one wing to the other in front; the depth, that is measured from the front to the reare. In the *Plesium* then, according to *Aelian*, the length or breadth ought to be manifold to the depth. But it is not generally so; for oftentimes you shall read of *Plesiums* with ^d equall sides; and likewise that the *Plesium*

Etymologic. mag. numen in ruderis.

Plut. in vita Alex. b Plut. in vita Alex.

lexandri.

Plut. in vita Dem. c Plut. in vita Dem. meris.

meris.

meris.

meris.

meris.

meris.

meris.

meris.

The Tacticis of Ælian, or

stum is sometimes hollow within, sometimes solid and filled vp within with men: of which last kinde ^a Xenophon saith, many of the Barbarians framed their troops in the battaile betwixt *Ariæxerxes* and *Cyrus*. Of the first *Ælian* speaketh in this Chapter: for he would haue the foure sides to consist of armed, and the archers and flingers to be thowne into the hollownesse within. He hath before in the 42 Chapter described the Plinthium to be a square battaile in figure and number; this he would haue to be a square with the front manifoldly longer then the flanke. So that both battailes agree in that they are *square*, both in that they haue armed on all sides, both in that they are hollow within; they differ onely in the forme of the *square*, which is *longer* in the *Pleſium*, deeper in the *Plinthium*. Their affinity also appeareth in this alſo, that the *Plinthium* hath the name from a bricke, the *Pleſium* from the mould o' a bricke; yet are their names oftentimes confounded: For that which is call'd in one Author *Pleſium*, is in another called *Plinthium*: as namely the battaile of *Antony* in Persia, is by ^c *Plutarch* named *Pleſium*, by ^b *Appian* *Plinthium*.

^a *Plat.* in *Antony*.
^b *Appian* *Pers.*
^c 162.

^a *Tacit.* 1.7.
350.C.
Theſe two Ge-
nerals had each
of them half the
Army vnder their
command.

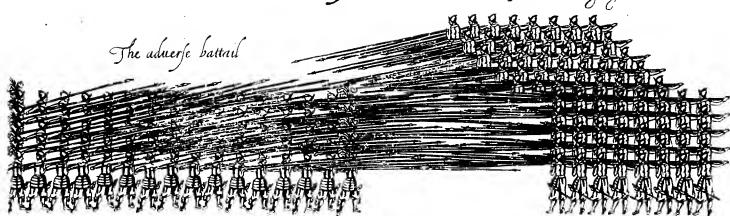
^a *Xeno.* b. de exp.
13.303.E.

To shew now the vfe of this battaile, it is of the kinde of *Defensives*; and the Grecians, whenſoever they feared to be charged in flanke, front, and rear at once, or to be ouer-laid with number of enemies, had recourse vnto this forme. There is a notable example of it in ^b *Thucydides*. The Athenians haſing besieged *Syracuse* in Cittie both y' *Sea* and *Lands*, and being ouer come by two battailes by *Sea*, thought to march by *land* to ſome one of their conſiderate Cities in the Iſlands; and fearing to be round beset by the *Syracusans* in their way; Nicias one of the Athenian Generals put his part of the army in a *Pleſium*, and ſo marched before: Demothenes the other Athenian General followed with the other part of the army in the ſame forme. The armed roke into the hollownesſe of their battailes the carriage and vniueſt full multitude. When they came to be foar'd of the ſeruer *Anapis*, they found the *Syracusans* and their allies embattailed here, whom haſing beaten from the place, they paſſed over and continued their march. The *Syracusian* horſe full charged, and the light-arm'd caſed no ioynt with miſſiue weapons; but yet they came neare to hand-bloweſ, fearing to hazard againſt men desperately bent to ſell their liues deereſ. At laſt wearied them wiſh many daies skirmiſh, and diſordring their army, they forced them to yeld. This History is at large ſet downe by *Thucydides*. I haue abridged it, left it ſhould take vp too much roome; and yet haue exprefſed both the forme in his words, and further the meanes, that the enemy vſed to breake it, and to get the victory. This forme was ſed by the Grecians at their returne out of Persia, after that *Clearchus* and the other Coronels were enſnared by *Tiſaphernes*, and put to death: and againe by *Xenophon*, when he retreated, after he had failed of the taking of *Asidates* priſoner, not farre from Pergamus a City of Lydia. For the meanes to diſolute this battaile, the principall is, not to charge at hand thoſe that ſtand ſo embattailed, but to ply them farre off with miſſiue weapons; which is maniſt by the fight of the *Syracusans* againſt *Nicias* and the Athenians; and by that of the Perlians, who ſo affayled *Xenophon* in his retreat laſt mentioned. *Ælian* feteth againſt it another forme of battaile which he tearmeth *Peleſmene*, the winding fronted battaile, which is by ſome called the *ſaw*: what kinde of battaile the *ſaw* is, I ſee conſtruoced. Some would haue it conſit of a conſtant front *indented*, and not changeable or alterable in any part, during the charge. If that be the *ſaw*, it cannot agree with

Cap 50.

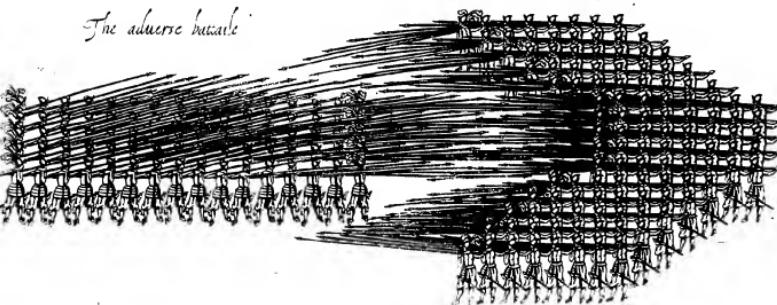
The overwing battaile

The aduerteſe battaile



Cap 50.

The overfronning battaile



The aduerse battaile

with *Aelian* description, who would haue the file-leaders of the Peplegmene to aduance before their battaile, and be still in motion, of purpose to traine out the file-leaders of the Plesium to meet them, thereby to dissolute the forme of their battaile. And this is but a stratagem to preuaile against the enemy. For, as ^a *Lco* saith, a good Generallought, as a good wrestler, to make shew of one thing, and to put another in practice, to the end to deceiue the enemy, and gaine the victory; as is done in this manner of embattailing; but that the Sawe is no constant or settled forme of fight, as the rest are, which are described by *Aelian* in the Chapters going before, appeareth by *Festus*, whose words are these: *Serra praelari dicitur, cum assidue acciditur, recediturque, neque villo constitutur tempore. The skirmish is said to be made in the forme of a Sawe, when they that use this forme continually give on and retire, and at no time stand still.* But we must vnderstand that the moving is not by mamples or by light-armed, as ^b *Lipsius* interpreteth it, but by file-leaders of the armed, as *Aelian* teacheth, (with intent to traine out the file-^b *Lipsius de mil.* ^{Rom. I. 4. dist. 7.} leaders of the Plesium, and so to disorder their battaile:) the rest of the Peplegmene standing still in their forme. Now then to make a Peplegmene or sawe-battaile, direction is to be giuen to the file-leaders alone to fall out confusedly against the aduerse Plesium of the enemy, and to the rest in the files to stanⁱ still. Otherwise being not forewarned, the whole files will moue and follow their leaders; which if they doe, this forme cannot be made, but the battaile remaineth as a square as it did before the going to charge. The forme of framing the battail called the Plesium, and the words of command are described in my notes vpon the 42 Chapter.

of Hyperphalangesis, and Hyperkerasis, and of Attenuation.

CHAP. L.

- (1)  Hyperphalangesis, or ouerfronting is, when both wings of the Phalange ouer-reach the enemies front.
 (2)  Hyperkerasis, or ouerwing, is when with one of our wings we ouer-reach the front of the enemy. So that he that ouerfronteth, ouerwingeth; but he that ouerwingeth, ouerfronteth not. For they that match not the enemy in multitude, may yet ouerwing him.
 (3) Attenuation is when the depth of the battaile is gathered vp, and instead of 16, a smaller number is set.

NOTES.

IN this Chapter, being the last, that describeth formes of battailes, are two kindes of battailes set forth, which are (if I mistake not) of more efficacy, I am sure, such as haue beene more practised, then any of the other, that goe before in this booke; and they specially giue aduantage to them, that haue aduantage in numbers of men, and can franie a larger fronted Phalange then the enemy is able. And either of them opposeth a large front against the enemy, the one stretching it beyōd the points of both their wings, the other beyond the point one of their wings. The first kind is called *Hyperphalangesis*.

The Tacticke of Aelian, or

phalanges ouer-fronting, the other Hyperphalanges ouer-winging. Hyperphalanges or ouer-fronting is, faith Aelian;

1 When both wings of the Phalange ouer-reach the enemies front.] To make it then Hyperphalanges, the front must be much broader than the enemies, & extended beyond both their wings, of purpose to ouer-reach & wrap them in, charging not onely the front, but also the flanks on both sides at once; which is so dangerous a kinde of fight, that he that is so assayled, can haue no great hope of making resistance against his enemy; because the front being the place which is ordained for fight, and the pikes being bent and lyng out from thence, if at the same time the flanks be also charged, the sides of the souldiers must needs lye open to wounds, no man being able to defend himselfe, and turne his weapons two wayes at once. The ouer-fron-
tинг of ¹ Cœsus vsl'd against Cyrus, rehearsed by me in my notes vpon the
46 Chapter, is an eminent example of Hyperphalanges, whereby Cœsus at one instant invaded the front and both flanks of the enemies battaile. The like may be faine of the battaile of ² Darius at Illos & Gaugamela, against Alexander; and of ³ Scipio againt Asdrubal Gisgoes sonne in Spaine; and of ⁴ Lamenus against Caesar in Africa. The manner of framing this forme is diuers: For either you shew all your forces at first, or else conceale some part; and shewing all, you march in an even and whole front, and bowing afterward your wings, encloste the flanks of the enemy, or else in an embowed forme at first (such as are the hollow-fronted battailes) and so encompassie your enemy, taking him into the hollownesse, as you march forward. Of the first kind was the battaile of Labienus against Caesar which I mentioned last, and those of Darius against Alexander. Of marching in an embowed forme, that of Cœsus against Cyrus: Or concealing your number, that of Cleandridas againt the Thurian cited by me in my notes vpon the 29 Chapter of this booke; and of Scipio againt Asurn. ll which is set downe at large in the notes vpon the 28 Chapter.

¹ Xenoph. Cyrop.
l.7.1.33.

² Arr. l.2.3.5. E. &
l.3.6.C.
³ Polyd. l.11.
6.5.B.
⁴ Lw. l.1.1.204. B.
Hutus de bell.
Afi. 3.31.

See T. d' Sic. of
Philip against
the Illyrians l.1.2
pag. 912.

arbitrij d.5.

3.5.0.D.

See the like ex. of the

Lacedemonians

have alwaies

that place.

Next to them they ordered the souldiers

in Xeno. b.6.9.9.9.

that came with Brasidas out of Thrace:

Next them the new men Citizens by

hirst. rec. l.4.

515.6.1.0.4.8.

in the right wing were the Heraeans,

then the Menelians, Arcadians both.

In the right wing were the Heraeans,

and a few of the Lacedemonians in the point of that wing.

The Lacedemonians were ranged on both wings.

Thus were the Lacedemonian embat-

talled.

Their enemies thus;

The Mantineans had the right wing,

because the warre

was made in their Territory:

by them stood the Arcadianes their confederates.

Then 1000 selected Argives,

whom the City had long time trained up in military exercise;

to whom joined the other Argives;

and after them were ordered the Cleonians,

and the Oreanians their allies.

The last were the Athenians,

that had the left wing,

and their owne horse them.

This was the preparation and embattailing of both par-

ties.

When they went to charge, the Argives and their allies marched forward with speed and great fury, the Lacedemonians lesurely according to the sound of the fifes,

placed

in their battaile,

not for any religion sake,

but to the end,

that framing

their motion to the sound of the instrument,

they might not in the march breake their

order of embattailing,

which great armes often doe in advancing;

to ioyne with the

enemy.

When they were ready to ioyne,

King Agis bethought himselfe of this stra-

gem:

It is the manner of all armes in the onset to stretch out their right wings,

and with them to circumuent and encompass the left wings of their adver-saries;

because every souldier carefull of his own safety seekes to couer his unarmed side with the tar-

get of him that landeth next to his right hand,

and imagineth that the setting of tar-

gets close, serues for the best defence against the enemy.

The cause is this;

the corner

souldier

of the right wing desirous to withdraw as much as he can his naked side

from the weapons of the enemy proceedeth to the right hand, and the rest follow him.

And at that time the Mantineans

a great deale ouer-reached the Scirites with their

wing.

The Lacedemonians and Tegeans much more the Athenians, by reason they o-

uermatched them in number.

Agis therefore fearing the encompassing of his left

wing, seeing that the front of the Mantineans was very broad, and farre extended,

gave a signe to the Scirites and Brasideans to stretch out their wing, and to equalle the

front of the Mantineans.

And for the void space that should remayne upon their ad-

vancing;

he commanded two Polemarchs or Coronels, Hippoionidas and Aristocles

to lead therin two cohorts from the right wing, and fill up the void space, concili-

ng that he shold this notwithstanding leave himselfe strenght enough in the right

wing, and that the wing opposed against the Mantineans shold hereby be better en-

abled to the encounter.

But it happened that Hippoionidas & A. iotocles followed not

these iirections, whether the reason were in the fiddishesse of the command, or in the

presumption of the enemies going on;

for which fault they were afterward banished

Sparta, as men effeminate & cowards, when they came to bands, the right wing of the

Mantineans put the Scirites and Brasideans to flight.

And they and their allies, and the 1000 selected Argives falling into the empty space, that was not filled vp, made a

great slaughter of the Lacedemonians;

and encompassing them forced them to turne

their backs in hast, and fly to their waggon;

and slue also some of the elder sort of

souldiers, that were left for guard there.

Hitherto Thucydides. I prosecute not

the remanent of the battaile, because it is somewhat long. That which I

haue recited is enough for my purpose, namely to shew the manner of ouer-

winging.

Thus then apply it. The Mantineans had their right wing farre

extended beyond the point of the left wing of the Scirites and Brasideans;

who by marching out to the left hand fought to equalle the front of their ad-

uersaries; but leit the ground void, wherein they were first placed. This

ground by Agis his commandement shold have beene filled by the Cohorts

of Hippoionidas and Aristocles. It was not filled, so that in the charge the ene-

my had the aduantage to enter it, and to circumuent on that side the Scirites

and Brasideans, and put them to flight; which danger will be com-

mon to all that shall be ouerwinged by their enemies. The danger then of

ouer-fronting and ouer-winging being so great, let vs see what remedies

and preventions against either of them haue beeene devised by antiquity.

Against ouer-fronting, they fought to secure the flanks of their battailes,

sometimes by ordering their army in such a figure, as shoud be sufficient to

sustaine the charge of the enemy, wheresoever he gaue on. Of which kinde

is the plenum or hollow square spoken of in the last Chapter. This was practi-

ced by the Grecians at their returne out of Persia;

and oftentimes by other Grecians, as is every where to be found in their histories. And Alex-

ander

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placed within their battaile, not for any religion sake, but to the end, that framing their motion to the sound of the instrument, they might not in the march breake their order of embattailing, which great armes often doe in advancing; to ioyne with the enemy. When they were ready to ioyne, King Agis bethought himselfe of this stra-gem: It is the manner of all armes in the onset to stretch out their right wings, and with them to circumuent and encompass the left wings of their adver-saries; because every souldier carefull of his own safety seekes to couer his unarmed side with the target of him that landeth next to his right hand, and imagineth that the setting of targets close, serues for the best defence against the enemy. The cause is this; the corner souldier of the right wing desirous to withdraw as much as he can his naked side from the weapons of the enemy proceedeth to the right hand, and the rest follow him. And at that time the Mantineans a great deale ouer-reached the Scirites with their wing. The Lacedemonians and Tegeans much more the Athenians, by reason they o-uermatched them in number. Agis therefore fearing the encompassing of his left wing, seeing that the front of the Mantineans was very broad, and farre extended, gave a signe to the Scirites and Brasideans to stretch out their wing, and to equalle the front of the Mantineans. And for the void space that should remayne upon their ad-vancing; he commanded two Polemarchs or Coronels, Hippoionidas and Aristocles to lead therin two cohorts from the right wing, and fill up the void space, concili-ing that he shold this notwithstanding leave himselfe strenght enough in the right wing, and that the wing opposed against the Mantineans shold hereby be better en-abled to the encounter. But it happened that Hippoionidas & A. iotocles followed not these iirections, whether the reason were in the fiddishesse of the command, or in the presumption of the enemies going on; for which fault they were afterward banished Sparta, as men effeminate & cowards, when they came to bands, the right wing of the Mantineans put the Scirites and Brasideans to flight. And they and their allies, and the 1000 selected Argives falling into the empty space, that was not filled vp, made a great slaughter of the Lacedemonians; and encompassing them forced them to turne their backs in hast, and fly to their waggon; and slue also some of the elder sort of souldiers, that were left for guard there. Hitherto Thucydides. I prosecute not the remanent of the battaile, because it is somewhat long. That which I haue recited is enough for my purpose, namely to shew the manner of ouer-winging. Thus then apply it. The Mantineans had their right wing farre extended beyond the point of the left wing of the Scirites and Brasideans; who by marching out to the left hand fought to equalle the front of their aduersaries; but leit the ground void, wherein they were first placed. This ground by Agis his commandement shold have beene filled by the Cohorts of Hippoionidas and Aristocles. It was not filled, so that in the charge the ene-my had the aduantage to enter it, and to circumuent on that side the Scirites and Brasideans, and put them to flight; which danger will be common to all that shall be ouerwinged by their enemies. The danger then of ouer-fronting and ouer-winging being so great, let vs see what remedies and preventions against either of them haue beeene devised by antiquity. Against ouer-fronting, they fought to secure the flanks of their battailes, sometimes by ordering their army in such a figure, as shoud be sufficient to sustaine the charge of the enemy, wheresoever he gaue on. Of which kinde is the plenum or hollow square spoken of in the last Chapter. This was practi-ced by the Grecians at their returne out of Persia; and oftentimes by other Grecians, as is every where to be found in their histories. And Alex-ander

Epicampos
opisthia.
Ant. 3. *c. 6. c. 6.*
Ant. 3. *c. 17. 52.*

ander when he was to fight with *Darius* at Gaugamela (the countrey being Champaigne, and *Darius* abounding in multitudes) defended himselfe with an Epicampos opisthia, or a reare hollow battaile. I have shewed the manner of it before in my notes vpon the 46 Chapter. And sometimes againe by foreseeing the danger and placing referrees in the reare, or some other secret place to charge the enemy in their flanke, while they busie themselves against your flanks. This ^b was practised by *Cyrus* the elder against *Crasus*, as I haue shewed in my notes vpon the 46 Chapter. Of ^cthis kinde also it is, when you lay an ambush to charge their reare, while they charge your flanks. The place will likewise helpe much to auoid encompassing. For if the battaile be fought in a streight place by nature, where the enemy cannot draw out his Phalange in length, there is no danger of encompassing, so *Alexander* at Iffos in Cilicia was freed from encompassing, the place being too narrow for *Darius* to bring all his forces into an eauall front. The place may also be helped by art in case it be otherwise to open, and fit for the enemy, that aboundeth in number to encompass vs on every side. So ^d*Ceser* being to fight against multitudes of Gauls, drew a deept trench on both the flanks of his army to affre it from the charge of the enemy. The 322. ^e*Synt. in Synt. & Appian in bell. ministratio.*

^f*Turkis history* 297. 5. 2. Remedies againg over-winging. ^g*Aelian* c. 9. fig. 5. Of later time ^f *Hunades* the Hungarian King, being to fight against a huge army of the Turkes, gained a roote victory against them by placing his army on the one side against a fence, and encloing it on the other side with his waggons. And these preventions, have beene devised against Hyperphalangitis, or ouer-fronting. Against over-manning, they thought it sufficient to trenthen and make safe the wing, that was like to be endangred by the enemy ; so that all remedies againg overfroniting are good also againg overwinging : but the remedies againg overwinging are not sufficient to frustate overfroniting. Overwinging therfore hath beene auoided sometimes by drawing out the endangered wing in length to eauall the enemies wing, that opposith against it. This is done by doubling of rankes as ^h*Aelian* teacheth in the 29 Chapt. t. and as it was practised by ⁱ*Cleandridas* the Lacedemonian against the Thuriens. Wherin notwithstanding this caution is to be held, that you double not your rankes so, that you make the depth of your body to thin, for in doing your body will be as subiect to breaking for want of depth as for want of length to overwing. Beside, it is done by facing to the hand, where the enemies battaile overwingeth, and marching out against it parellately, till your wing eauall the wing of the enemy : but notwithstanding that the void space, from whence you drew your wing, be filled vp, for feare the enemy givin to it, and distresse you there, as may be seen by the presidient which in this Chapter I gaue out of *Thucidides* of overwinging, and the example of the Cochanis, who fearing to be overfronted by the Grecians vpon a hill, vpon which they stood embattailed, led their wings to the right and left hand to match the front of the

^k*Xenoph. de exp. 1. 4* ^{241. F.} ^{Leot. 12. S. 34.} Grecians, leauing the middest of their battaile empty, into which the Grecians conueyng themselves easly put the Cochancis to flight, as ^l*Xenophon* recordeth. ^m Overwinging is also prevented, if you hold referrees ly in the reare of your battaile to flye out vpon the sudden against those for-
ces

ces of the enemy, that seeke to ouerwing you. This remedy was vied by ⁿ*Ceser* in the battaile of Pharsaly, when *Pompey* hauing abundance of horse-
men, sought to circumuent that wing of *Cesars* battaile, which lay to the o-
pen field, and was not guarded with a fence, as the other wing was. For to
prevent the charge of these horse, *Ceser* bestowed certain cohorts, who were
to hold themselves close in the reare of his legions, not facing as his legions
did against the legions of *Pompey*, but facing into the field, from whence he
suspected the enemies horse would charge; so that when the horse charged,
these cohorts suddenly falling out vpon them, and putting them to flight,
were the beginning of *Cesars* victory. The place alio often giveth assurance
against overwinging, whether it be a riuer or the sea, or a mountaine, or such
like, to which you may apply the flanke of your wing. For a riuer, you haue
the example of *Clearchus* in the battaile betwixt *Anabores* and *Cyrus* the
yonger, in which ^b*Clearchus* ordered his troupes of Grecians on the right
wing close to the riuer Euphrates. And when *Cyrus* would haue had him
charge the middest of the Persian Phalange, because the King had placed
himselfe there : (yet saith *Xenophon*) *Clearchus seeing the King was farre
without the left wing of the Grecians (for the King so much exceed'd in multitude,
that the middest of his battaile was a great way without the left wing of Cyrus)
would not withdraw his right wing from the riuer, fearing to be encompassed on both
sides.*

The like was done by *Alexander* the Great in the Countrey of the Getes :
this is the effect of the words of *Ariariz* ^c when they (the Getes) saw Alexander
industrieously advance his Phalange by the riverside, lest the foot might hysp-
be circumvented and encompassed by some ambys of the Getes, and his horse in the
front, the Getes forsooke also ihis city, whiche was set vpon well walldes, setting many
of their chil- ren and wifes upon their horses backs, as the horses could carry, and re-
tirring into the wildernes a great way from the riuer. By the Sea you may auide
likewise overwinging, if you order one of the flanks of your Army close to the
Sea side. This was put in vtre by *Alexander* when he fought the battaile
against *Darius* at Iffos in Cilicia. Thus haue *Ariariz* ^d The foot of the left wing
were commanded by *Craterus*, but the whole left wing by *Ariariz*, who was enioyed
not to forsake the sea, for feare of encompassing by the Barbarians : for by reason
of their number they might easly encircle the Macedonians on all parts. A Mount-
aine also that is steep, will give good securitie to the flanke of a battaile,
that may otherwise be encompassed. At the battaile of Platea which was
fought betwixt the Grecians and *Mardonius*, *Xerxes* his Generall ; the Gre-
cian Army consisting of 100000, the Persian of 500 thousand, the Grecians
at the first encamped at the foot of the Mountaine Cytheron ; but thin-
ning the place fitter for the multitude of the Persians, then for the mifles, they
removed their Campe, and chose a more commodious piece of ground to pursue the
totall victory. For there was on the right hand a high hill, on the left, ran the river
Asopus. The Campe was pitched in the middle place, which was fortifyed by the nature
and safenesse of the plot of ground. Therefore the streightnesse of the place much fa-
oured the wise counsell of the Grecians, stward the obtaining of victory. For there was
no roome for the Persian to extend their Phalange in any great proportion of length,
so that many Myriads of the Barbarians came to be of no use. The Grecians therefore *Mardonius* ^e *conco-
n* in confidence of the place advanced their forces to fight, and ordering themselves ac-
cording to the present occasion, led against the enemy. *Mardonius* being compelled to
make

The Tacticks of Aelian, or

make a deepe Phalange, ordered his battaile in such sort, as he thought most convenient, and with cries set forward against the Grecians. This example albeit it be a remedy against Hyperphalangeis, or ouer-fronting, yet because it giueth a safegard by a mountaine to one of the wings, I take it to be proper enough to Hyperkerasis or ouer-winging. Besides that, as I before noted, all meane that are used to avoid ouer-fronting, are good likewise for the avoiding of ouer-winging.

[Attention is.] This is nothing else but doubling of ranks: whereof see the 29 Chapter.

Of conueighing the carriage of the Army.

CHAP. XLV.

HE leading of the carriage, if any thing else, is of great (1) importance, and (2) requireth a speciall Commander.

It may be conueighed in 5 maners, (3) either before the army, or (4) behinde, or on the (5) one flank, or the other, or in the (6) middest.

Before, when you feare to be charged behinde: behinde, when you lead toward your enemy: when you feare to be charged in flanke, on the contrary side. In the middest when a hollow battaile is needfull.

NOTE S.

IS of great importance.] The importance of disposing the carriage in a march is well set down by ²*Leo*: *You* (faith he to his General) ought to have a special care of your baggage, and not to leave it at random, but to save it in the place wher it shall be; nor to lead it unadvisedly into the battaile: For oftentimes falleth out, that servants fit for the Soldiers wife, and the soldiers children and kinsmen are amongst it: and if it remaine not in safety, the mindes of the soldiers are distractred with wantfullnesse and care and feare of the spoyle thereof: for every man of vnde standing endeavoureth to possess that which is the enemies, without losse of his owne. This is the aduise of *Leo*. A pregnante example hereof may be read in *Diodorus Siculus* his description of the last battaile betwixt *Antigonus* and *Eumenes*; in which *Antigonus* having foild *Eumenes* horse, sent his Median horse-men, and a sufficient number of *Tarentines* to miade the enemies baggage; For he hoped (which was true) not to be desirous by reason of the duff, and by possesting the baggage to become conqueror of the enemy without traueil. They that were sent riding about the wing of their aduersaries unperceyed, fell upon the baggage, which was distant from the battaile about five furlongs. And finding by it a noble of felke uift for fight, and but a few left for gard therewards, putting them to flight quickly (that withstood) they made them selues masters of all the rest. *Eumenes* hearing that his baggage was lost, endeauoured notwithstanding to renew the fight, in hope by gaining the victory, not only to preferre his owne baggage, but also to possess that of the enemy. But the *Macedonians* refused to strike stroake, alledging that their carriage was lost, and their children and wiues, and many other bodies necessary were in the bands

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bands of the enemy. And sending priuily Embassadors to *Antigonus* they seised upon *Eumenes*, and deliuered him up into *Antigonus* possession. Thus much for the importance of assuring the carriage.

2 Requireth a speciall Commander.] That the baggage ought to haue a speciall Commander ^b*Leo* also affirmeth: ^c*Vegetius* addeth a gard to the baggage, and ^d*Leo* a proper Ensigne, saying: *To every regiment there ought to be allotted a Waggons Master, and a proper Ensigne as wel to the horse as even, that they may be discerned to their owners by the colours of the Ensigne.*

3 Either before the Army.] The first of the ffeue wayes, by which the baggage is conueighed in a march, is to lead it before the Army; which manner is to be put in practise, when the enemy purfueith in the reare: For if when the enemy followeth, the baggage shoulde be behinde, he would soone haue meane to leafe upon and rife it, then you could haue to wheel about your army to succour it. For these ffeue maners of conueighing the carriage, *Leo* agreeith with *Aelian* in these words: *Your carriage, faith he, ought to haue a speciall Commander to order and govern it: and he is to lead it either before the Army, iij you do march out of the enemies Countrey; or after the Army, if you invade the enemies territorij, on the one side or other, wher you feare to be charged on the one or eithir of your flanks; within the phalange, when you haue suspition to be charg'd on all parts. So *Leo* agreeing with *Aelian*.*

4 Or behinde.] The baggage is to be awlays disposed of so, that the army may be betwixt it and the enemy. It ought to be before when the enemy is like to giue on behinde; behinde, when he seeketh to affront you from before. And yet it sometimes falleth out, that all the baggage is not to be led behinde the whole army, according to this precept of ^f*Leo. Caufi* ^g*12.5.12.* every drung or regiment (faith he to his Generall) to accustome their owne bi ^h*When the enemy* ⁱ*is norresterd* ^j*to follow after their regiment with their owne Ensignes, and not to mingle with* ^k*other. For it is necessary, wher the enemy is neither present nor expected in our owne Countrey, to march either by Regiments or else by Formes; and not to gather your whole Army into one place, l*if* ^l*be easily starved with hunger, or the number be quickly scorne* ^m*cō by the enemies cōcials, or be feareid in forrage. In another place speaking of marching thorow woddy and rough waves, he saith thus: If* ⁿ*you haue no stor for baggage, lead your baggage behinde your Army, and after it the horse, and after them a few light armed targetters, to be as it were bringers up of the march; for feare of unexpected incursions which oftentimes chanceth to be made by the enemy.**

5 *In another thus: When you enter our enemies Countrey, you shall cause your carriage to march in the reare; but when the enemy draweth neare, you shall button it in the middel of the Army.* ^o*And in any case you must haue your carriage, and the Captives (if you haue any) separated from the soldiours that are to fight, left if the enemy fall on roundly, they be hindered that are to fight. For the distance that the carriage ought to hold behinde the Army, the same *Leobartus* hath thus: If you thinke it convenient for the carriage to follow the Army, you are to order it a full booke shot from the Army, and let every part follow their own bodies in good array: giving it such breadth in the march, the Army posseth; left that lyng out beyond the breadeth of the Army, they become unsuccourable. These are the precepts of *Leo* concerning the conueighance of the carriage in the reare. For the practise of it you haue a precedent of ^p*Cyrus* the elder, which is at large rehearsed by me in my notes vpon the 7 Chapter of this Booke: ^q*Ariob. 1.1.4.4.* and another of ^r*Alexander the Great*, when he led against the Persians at*

The Tacticks of Ælian, or

the riuers Granicus, and an infinite number of other examples are to be found in History every where.

[Or on the one flanke, or the other.] Leo's precept for disposing of the baggage on the flanks, is very good. For it ought as much as is possible, to be prefered from the touch of the enemy; neither can there be any better way to secure it, than your opposition, the Army betwixt it and the enemy; but sc; notwithstanding that it haue a gard about it at all times, to save it from the sudden inauasion of your enemies horse. If therefore the enemy appere upon your left flank, your baggage is to be couened on the right flank; If contrariwise the enemy come on to charge your right flanke, the baggage is to be remoued to the left. And this holdeth, onely when the enemy appeareth vpon one flanke, and not on both. But in case the enemy appere on both flanks at once, then is the safest place for it,

*Vitellius c. 14.
§ 15.*

Lecos 9. & 6. c. 47.

Lecos 7. § 36.

Lecos 14. § 24.

*Zenophon c. 1. p. 1.
30. c. 6.*

[In the middest.] There are two manners of leading of the baggage in the middest, and that according to the nature and condition of the ground, where our army marcheth. If therefore the way be straight, Leo giueth this precept; *Those that lead their army through streights, hausing with it either baggage or prey, ought to diuide it into a diphalange, and to marching-wis in a right induction.* A right induction, that is, which is narrow in front, and hath the diph stretched out in length: And this is to be done especially when there is a prey in the haunds of the army. And if they consist of foot, the passage will be the easier through rough and embroide places. If herise, the are to alight and take the carriage and carriage into the middest. But in such times and places, you are to appoint some chosen men only for the defence of the prey, and to order them *to the fourre sides of the Diphalange*, as the place will give leane, to the end to keepe v. l. and repulse those of the enemy that shalke to charge or distract it. And the battaile (or diphalange) so ordered for the preferment of the carriage or prey, he maintained whole and entire. For it is not possible for those of the Diphalange (or d.) to defend the prey in g. order, and to ioyne with the enemy that charghe, which is the easieſt that there is to be extraordinary man to march without the fourre sides of the army; but if you are to appoint the b. of them to warre upon the prey. For many at all times,ough and troublome places to pass through with safety. This is Leo's precept for straight & narrow passages: because in such you cannot forme your army into a hollow square, wherein the baggage is to be couened, and to be defended on all sides. For if the ground be open enough to cast your selfe into a square, hee holdeth the forme the luteſt to give security to your baggage. These be his words: *Place all fourre carriag, seruants, and baggage, and provision, in the middest of your army.* And in another places, speaking of a retreat to be made after an ouerthrow received, he writeth thus: *You shall order your whole power into two phalanges or battalions, or into one square Plixiuum; in the middest whereof you shall put the carriage, beasts, and baggage, and without them the soldiars in order, and without them the archers, and so retire and depart in safety.* Againo he saith, *In marches, the enemy approuching, it is necessary to haue your carriage in the middest, left being vnguarded, it is spoyle and rifled.* With Leo dath Xenophon agree. His words haue this shew: *I will not wonder, if as fearfull dogges we went to follow and to such as passe by, if they can, and to flye from such as follow them, so the enemy haue upon our retire.* Therefore we shall perhaps march the safer, if making a Plixiuum of the march, the carriage and unprofitable multitude be throwne into the middest for more security. And if it be now determined vbi sibi commandabit: from

tho

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the Pleſium, and who the two wings, and who the reare, we shall not need to consult when the enemy approacheth, but execute that which is resolved vpon. This is Xenophons counſell for the march in open ground, when the enemy aboundeth in number of ſouldiers: which counſell was often put in practice, and the Persian horſe that charged them on all ſides, and alſo prefered, and led their carriage ſite in diſpite of the enemy. The like was practiſed by Xenophon afterward in the laſt warlike action of the Grecians in their returne out of Persia. He fettereth downe the history after this manner; *Now was it time, Xenophon d'exp. 33.* *viz. ſc; er they haſſaulted a fort in vaine, th: enemy of th: country gathering head, to ſlinke upon a faire retreat, and conueyng the oxe, and ſheep they had taken, and likewiſe ſi the ſlaves into a Pleſium, they quickly diſmarched, not ſo much ſtemming their prey, as fearing in cafe they left it behind, their deſt're might ſeme a plaine running away, and the enemy gaſt heart, the Grecian ſouldiers be diſcouraged. So now they departed fightiſg as it were about the prey.* The ſouldiers with Xenophon being ſhrewd and wiſe bowes & ſlings, caſt them ſelves into a ring to the end to oþole their targets againſt the ſhot oþ the enemy, and with much adoe paſſed the river Caicus, he one halfe of them being wundeſ. Agatias alſo the Symphalian Captaine was hure whiſt he maſtinaded fight with the enemy, during the whole retreat. Yet they all returned ſafe to the Camp, bringing with them about 200 ſlaves, and ſheepe enough for ſacrifice. Herc Xenophons ſouldiers figured themſelves firſt into a Pleſium couching their prey in the middest; afterward being overlayed with the enemys ſhot, they conuerced their Pleſium into a Ring, in which forme they recouered their Canie, notwithstanding the moleſation and often charging of a great multitude of horſe and foote, that were enemy and followed them. Cſ the forme of rings I finde not many examples amongſt the Grecians; the Romans uſed them often, when they found themſelves encompassed by the enemy, as Prodigius hath; and may bee ſene in Caesar's Commentaries. And let thus be ſaid of the fourre manners of placing the carriage in a march.

*art et leadeſ
T. L. L.
Cefar, i. 36. 6.
gal.
Hirutu de bel. 42
lexand. 356.*

*Of the words of Command, and certayne obſervations
about them.*

CHAP. LII.



Art of all, we will briefly repeate the words of direiction; if we admoniſh first that they ought to be ſhort, then that they ought to be without double ſignification. For the ſouldiers, that in hauke receiue direiction, had neede to take heede of doubtfull words, leſt one doe one thing, and another the contrary. As for the purpose; If I lay turne your face, ſome, it may be, that heare me, will turne to the right, ſome to the left hand, and ſo no ſmall conuolusion follow. Seing therefore these words Turne your face import a general ſignification, and comprehend turning to the right or left hand; we ought in ſtead of ſaying, turne your face to the pike, to pronounce it thus, 2 oþ your pike turne your face; that is, we ought to ſet the particuler before, and then inferre the general; for ſo will all doe alike together.

L. like

The Tacticcs of *Aelian*, or

Like reason is, if you say *Turne about* your face, or *countermarch*: for these are also general words, and therefore wee shoud doe well to set the particular before. As to *the pike*, *turne your face about*, or *to the target*, *turne your face about*. Likewise the *Lacedemonian Countermarch*, not the *countermarch Lacedemonian*. For if you place the word *countermarch* first, some of the Souldiers will happily fall to one kinde, other to another kinde of countermarch. For which cause words of *double sense* are to be avoided, and the *speciall* to be set before the *general*.

N O T E S.

[We admonish first that they ought to be short.] The ordering and motions of an army ought to be quickly performed, the rather because the transmutations of the body and the occasions of them are sudden for the most part. And therefore the meanes to worke the transmutations commanded (these meanes are the words of direction) ought to suite to the nature of the motions themselves, and to be applyed to celerity by shorthenne of speach. Short speach is better carried away, and sooner put in execution, then speach that is longer. Yet is not such a shorthenne to bee affected, as will bring with it obscurity, according to the saying of the Poet; *Brenis eff laboro — Obscurus fio. I labour to be short, and so becom: obscure*. And therefore I take the practice of French Commanders, when they command Facing in these words; *A droite, a gauche*, to the right, to the left, without adding *face*, and likewise of the Netherlanders in imitation of the French *Reches om*, *flinks om*, and of some English in these words; *To the right, to the left*, not pronouncing the motion which is to be made to the hand appointed. These I take to be without the warrant of reason, and of all antiquity, from which *Aelian* draweth this rule. For the command of right and left alone sheweth that the Commander would haue a motion performed to the named hand, but leaueth vncertaintie what the motion shoud be, so that albeit some souldiers fall to a *countermarch*, some other to *wheeling*, or to *coupling*, or to *facing*, they are to be repur blamable, and to haue performed that which their direction willed them to doe, because the command was of moving to the right or left hand onely, not shewing what motion shoule be made to either hand. Shorthenne therefore is required by *Aelian*, but such a Shorthenne as is not wrapped vp in obscurity, and which may fully deliver the minde of the Commander to the souldiers, which hee hath in exercize. And as the words ought to bee short, so ought they to be,

[Without double signification.] Where they haue a double signification, that is, may be diuerently understood by them, who are vnder direction; some of the souldiers (as *Aelian* faith) will doe one thing, some another, which must needs breed a confusion in the body exercised. For as vniformity of motion in every particular souldier preferreth the whole body, and every ioynt, on part thereof entire, so the disimilitude of motion in the particulars induceth a disoynting, as it were, & a disorder of the multitude of the whole battaile in general. To avoid then the inconuenience of double understanding in words: *Aelian* thinketh fit, that the *speciall* word should be placed before the *general*, and in stead of *Face to the pike*, he would haue the Commander

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mander to pronounce thus: *To the pike face* (that is to the right hand:) holding the word *right hand* to be more speciall or freighter in signification, then the word *Face*. Let me haue pardon if I differ from *Aelian* herein. For Logicians hold those words more generall, than stretch vnto, and comprehending vnder them most particulars. Now considering there are four motions of the battaile, which cannot be put in vise but by words of direction, and in the direction the word *right* or *left hand* is of necessity to be applied to every of them (as for example *Countermarch to the right* or *left hand*, *Face to the right* or *left hand*, and so of the rest:) it is evident, that the word *right hand*, or *left hand* is more general then any one of the motions, because it stretcheth to them all. So that albeit we retaine the rule of *Aelian*, namely, to set the speciaill before the generall, yet may we very safely from his example, and not onely in *facing*, but also in the three other motions pronounce the direction thus: *Face to the right or left hand, Double to the right or left hand, Countermarch to the right or left hand, Wheele to the right or left hand*: because the word *right* or *left hand* is more general, then any one of the motions. But admit it were more particular, yet the necessity of our language would force vs to forake this rule of *Aelian*. For in euery language there is an idiome or propriety of speach, and that not onely in the phrase it self, but also in the very ioyning & tying together of the words of the sentence. So that that which forsetteth well with one language, will not be received in another. In Greeke, in which tongue *Aelian* wrote, it soundeth well to place the nowynge governed by a verbe, before the verbe it selfe. So in Latine, Dutch, French, and other tongues. In English if a man shoule doe the like (vn esle) it were in verse, wherein the number of the feet is more respecteth then the ordering of the words) he shoud be accounted ridiculous or vaine. For take the example here set downe, to the *right hand* face, to the *right hand* double, or *countermach*, or *wheele*, and let vs vse the same order of words in common speach, and a man say to his seruant: *To the Countee goe, to the mill corne carry, bootes cleare make*. To the cutler my rapier carry: who would not laugh at his speech, or thinke him idle in so pronouncing. Wherefore albeit *Aelian* hold that forme agreeable to the Greeke tongue, yet I cannot see how it will be fit that our English, according to which I hold it better to pronounce after this manner: *Face to right hand, Countermarch to the right hand, and so in the left, then after this, To the right hand face, to the right hand countermach*, the rather because the property of speech aualeth much to the capaicity of souldiers, who for the most part are vnearned, and will haue fyue ioynts, and in case the wanted custome, and ordinary vse of ioyning words be inserued.

C H A P. L III.

But above all things silence is to be commanded, and heed giuen to directions, as Homer especially signifieth in his description of the *Cretian and Trojan fights*, saying:

The Tacticks of *Aelian*, or

The skilfull Captaines pressed on, guiding with carefull eye
Their armed troopes, who followed their leaders silently ;
You surely would haue deeme d each one of all that mighty strong
Had beene bereft of speech, so bridle d his heedfull tongue ;
Fearing the dread Commanders cheke and dreadfull beth among :
Thus march'd the Greeks in silence, breathing flames of high desire
And fervent Zeale to backe their friends, on foes to wreake their ire.

As for the disorder of the Barbarians he resembleth it to Birds, saying :

A sholes of fowle, Geese, Cranes, and Swans; with necks far stretched out,
Whick in the limy jens Caifters winding stremes about.
Shere here and there the liquid skie, sporting on wanton wing,
Then fall to ground with clinging noys, the jens all over ring.
None otherwise the Troian fill the field with heaped soundes
Of broken and confusid cries, each where tumult abounds.

And againe :

The Captaines marshall out their troopes ranged in goodly guise,
And forth the Troians pace like birds, that lade the ayre with eryes,
Not so the Greeks, whose silence breathes flame of high desire,
Fervent in zeale to backe their friend, on foes to wreake their ire.

NOTES.

Silence when a battaile is put in order either for fight, or exercise, is one of the principall points of obedience, which belongeth to a souldier; the breach whereof more endangereth the proceeding of warre, then a rawe souldier would think, who onely wot to offend in that kind. I haue before enterred of signes, and shewed, that in the observing of directions consisteth the greatest helpe of victory ; in neglecting them, the chiefeſt moares to take an overthrow, and be defeated. For as directions being exectuted give lye unto warlike actions to effect that which the Commander deſireth, ſo whatuoer hindereth the receiving of directions, muſt needs eroſe the deſignes of the Commander, and by conſequēce frustrate and diſauall that which was thought by him moſt fit to be put in praice either for the good order, or for the prefereration of the Army, or elſe for the gaſting of victory : A man that is not atteintive cannot marke the command deliuereſt : Nor can he be atteintive, that whileſt it is deliuereſt bufieth his head with other thoughts, or elſe entertaineth his next flanders by with talke, a meaneſt to diuernt awſell the ſpeakeſr as the hearer from that heid which ought to be giuen to direcſion; in almoſt as moſt man hath the abillity to haue another mans ſpeech, and himſelfe take at the fame inſtitut, or at the fame time to diſcern two mens ſeverall ſpeeches, which are deliuereſt together. All generalis haue held Silence a principall point of warlike diſcipline. And therefore in Commands they make it the firſt. *Leos* precept is this : When the troopes are drawne together, and ordered for exerciſe, let the cryer (for every company had then a cryer) give theſe direcſions : Doe what you are com‐ manded with ſilence ; keepe your places every man, follow your colours. And in another

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ther place he writheth thus : When your Army goeth out to yoyne with the enemy, *Leos* precept ^{is} there ought to be a deepe ſilence ; For that both preferreth the Army from diſorder, and alſo maketh the direcſions of the Commanders to be heard with more attention. And againe thus : There ought to be as much ſilence as may be in the Army, and if the bringers up of any file, heare but a whiſpering of their fellowes in the file, they are to prick the purties with the poyns of their pikes, and fo to redrefſe the fault. *Arianis* *Cap. 6. Do.* Alexander when he was returning from the Country of the Taulantians, into which he had made an irode, found his way beſet with enemies, and being to caſt his Army into a forme of battealle to fight, he firſt commanded an abſolute ſilence, and then proceeded to other direcſions. And for the eſſet of ſilence, our owne ſtory hath a memorabla example of the Army of E. *Edward* *Col. ſix* *Secundus* fourth in Barnet field.

As for the ſilence here preſcribed by *Aelian*, it extendeth not onely to exerciſe and fight, but oftentimes to the marching of an Army, and to the Campe, as appeareth by the laſt example, and by *Leos* precept in his eleuenth Chapter. And yet this precept of ſilence is not inuiolably to be kept, in an Army at all times : for there is a time, when the Souldiers ought to give a generall thout, and cry thorow the whole Army, to the end to terriſe the auerſe battealle of the enemy ; and that time hath alwayes beeſe chosen, and by all Nations obſerued, when the fight is preſently to be vndertaken. I neele not bring inſtances thereof, every man knoweth it, that is althoſt but meanely acquainted with Hitory. It is termed in Greeke *sharayus*, in Latine *clamor*, in English a shout of the whole Army ; the which being perfromed, ſilence is to be reftored in as ſtrict manner a before. And thus much of ſilence. Now followeth the words of direcſion in *Aelian's* laſt Chapter.

of the words of direcſion.

CHAP. LIII.

Thus then are we to command.

- 1 To your armes.
- 2 Carriage away from the battaile.
- 3 Be ſilent and marke your direcſions.
- 4 Take vp your armes.
- 5 Seperate your ſelues.
- 6 Advance your Pikes.
- 7 File your ſelues.
- 8 Ranke your ſelues.
- 9 Looke to your leaders.
- 10 Reare-Commander ſtrengthen your file.
- 11 Keepe your firſt diſtances.
- 12 Face to the pike.

Mote a little further.
Stand fo.

- 13 As you were.
- 14 Face to the Target.

The Tacticke of *Elian*, or

Moue a little further.
Stand so.

- 25 As you were.
- 26 Face about to the pike.
- 27 As you were.
- 18 Double your depth.
- 19 To your first posture.
- 20 The Lacedemonian Countermarch.
- 21 To your first posture.
- 22 The Macedonian Countermarch.
- 23 To your first posture.
- 24 The Chorae Countermarch.
- 25 To your first posture.

The precepts of the art Tacticke haue I deliuerned vnto you (most inuincible *Cesar*) which I make no doubt, will bring to the practice safety, and victory ouer his enemies.

NOTES.

Ecclesiastes

These words of direction here set downe, are rather to shew the manner of Command, then to expresse the iuit number of directions vsed in exercise: yet doth *Leo* the Emperour transcribe some of them, albeit not all, out of *Elian*; and the last in *Leo* hath a mixture of two motions in one direction, being deliuerned in these words, *in rotundam et in rectam*; which is in Latine translated by Sir *John Ch. Laconicum ad hanc trinacram*; and may be thus englisched, wheele thrice the Lacedemonian Countermarch to the right hand; wherein there is both *wheeling* and the *Lace emporium Countermarch* commanded at once, a thing impossible to be performed. For as in *wheeling*, the whole battaile remaineth enire, and moueth circuwise about the right or left corner fileleader, as about a Center; So in a Countermarch Lacedemonian it is broken, and beginneth to moue by severall ranks, and continueth the motion in a direct line from the front to the reare, and not in a circle. But for the precepts of *Elian* I purpose to expaine only such as are vsed by the Souldiers and Commanders of our time: And after taking of armes I hold this to be the first, at least when we begin to moue.

6 Advance your Pikes.

Pikes in ordering of a battaile must be first *advanced* before any motion can be performed, in as much as all other postures of the Pike doe hinder, or else are vnfit for transmutations and variety of changes, and from *advancing* the rest of pike-postures doe spring. Ordering of the Pike was deuided to eaſe the Souldier standing still; *shouldering*, to eaſe him in marching; advancing, to giue facility to the other postures, and to finiſh them, because they both begin and end in it.

7 & 8. File and ranke your ſelues.

It is needless to note, that no battaile can be without filing and ranking.

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This we must understand, that the Captaine is to see whether the Souldiers be filed and ranked; but the action it ſelue pertaineth to the Souldiers, who knowing their files and ranks, are every man to take their place accordingly: for ſo ought it to be in true discipline of Warre.

9 Looke to your Leader.

The file-leader is the life, and giuer of forme vnto the file. He is the life in that he moueth firſt, and draweth the reſt vnto the ſame motion; he giueth the forme vnto it, because it being nothing elſe but a right line, his ſtanding, being the firſt point, diueth the reſt to follow lineaſly one after another. In this precept therefore *Looke to your Leader* two things are commanded, one that the reſt of the file ſhould obſerve to moue and ſtand ſtill, as he doth; the other, that they ſhould maintaine a ſtraightneſſe and riȝtneſſe in length, which is the forme of the file.

10 Reare-commander order your file.

See *Elian cap. 7. s. 33.*

In the Greek Edition of *Elian* is read *επικεφαλη*, that is, file-leader. But in a Manuscript, which I have ſeen; is *επιρημα*, the bringer vp or reare-commander, and fo is it read in *Leos Tacticke*; and I take it to be the true rea- *Leos cap. 7. s. 33.* ding, this command rather appertaining to the reare-Commander, then to the file-leader: for the file-leader being the foremost of the file, and bearing his face out of the front, how can he ſee whether the file that is behinde him, be in right order or not. The bringer vp hath his face toward the whole file, as it standeth out before him: and therefore may eaily diſcerne if any man be in disorder, and reforme them that are the caufe of the disorder. In which reſpect it is evident, that he is fitter for the command, then the file-leader; which is the caufe, that I haue tranſlated the word of direction, as before, *Reare-commander order your file.*

11 Keepe your first diſtances. That is, ſtand in your open order. For in that diſtance is the exerciſe first legonne.

It is a ſeemely thing to ſee an even proportion obſerved in the motion of a battaile, and to behold a direc^t pace betwixt files and rankeſ. For that is the grace and beauty (as I may terme it) of a Phalange ordered for fight. This proportion cannot be maityned without obſerving diſtance curiouſly. Open order is ſixte foot both in ranke and file betwixt man and man every way. If then any ſouldier in file gather vp to his leader, and ſtand at diſtance of three foot, it is manifest, that his ranke is thereby diſturbed and made vneuen, although the file continue ſtreight. Contrariwife, if he bearre himſelfe out of his place, three foot toward either of his ſide-men, by this meaneſ he diſordereth his file and maketh it crooked. This fault if it were committed by many, a generall diſorder would follow in the body; and therefore *Elian* well aduifeſ to keep the first diſtances especially till you be commanded to the ſecond or third diſtance, which will often fall out in the fourre motions. Of which *Facing* is the firſt; and the words of *Facing*, direction in it are theſe as before in *Elian*.

I 2

ii Face

i Mouen-

See Aelian before
Cap. 4.

12 Face to the Pike.

That is, Face to the right hand; For the pike was alwayes borne in the right hand.

14 Face to the Target.

The Pike-men in the Macedonian army bore targets on their left armes, or on the left side, so that facing to the target is all one with the word of command; Face to the left hand.

16 Face about to the pike or target.

That is, face about to the right or left hand. But where hee addeth *more a little further*, he signifieth that the direction is not fully accomplished, and he would haue the sholdiers continue their motion till their faces were fully come about to the reare; and then hee willeth them to stand so, because they haue gayned their place. These facings here exprefed by Aelian, are of the whole body. Other facings of the parts he hath not set downe, which notwithstanding are oftentimes of great vse. For say the enemy charge in front and reare; your front must continue as it did, but the word for the reare is:

* Halfi files face about to the right or left hand.

If the enemy charge you on both flankes, then is the word of command.

^b The Artilorius must halange.

^b Halfi rankes face to the right, halfi to the left hand.

If in front and one flanke, the front standeth firme, and the word for the flanke that is charged, is:

The Plesium.

Halfi rankes o' the right (or left) flanke, Face to the hand named.

If in front and both flankes, the front is to stand firme, and both the flanks to face to the enemy. And this is done in a hollow square or Plesium, and the word is:

Flankes face one to the right the other to the left hand.

If on all sides or round about, it is as before for the flankes: but for the reare,

The reare face about to the right or left hand.

Doubling.
Motion.

Now in Countermarch of the reare, the ranke of file-leaders is oftentimes commanded to face about to the right or left hand; In countermarch of the front, the ranke of bringers vp must doe the like, as wee shall see in Countermarch. Doubling is the second motion vsed in battaile, the precept of it in this is Aelian.

18 Double

18 Double your depth.

The word in our exercise for this motion is, Double your files; because Sec. Aelian cap. 4. files measure the depth of the battaile, or rankes measure the length. This doubling is made many wayes. The first is, when the even files (that is, the 2. 4. 6. 8. 10. file) fall into the odde 3. As if the doubling be to the right hand, the right hand corner-file standeth firme, and is the first after doubling; the third is the second file, the fifth the third, and so the rest of the odde files in order. But the manner is, that the leaders of the second file fall directly behind the leader of the first file, and the second man of the second file behind the second man of the first, and so the rest of those two files. The same order is for the rest of the even files, when they double the odde files. And the word is:

Double your files to the right or left hand.

Another manner is, when halfe the body of files conueytes it selfe into the spaces of the other halfe of the body; be it to the right or left hand according to direction given; so that the first ranke of the halfe body, which is to moue, falle into the space next after the first ranke of the halfe body that standeth, and so the rest of the rankes of the halfe body that moueth, and the word is:

Halfe the body double your files to the right or left hand.

Another is, when files are doubled by a countermarch: As if the second file of the right or left hand (as it is appointed) countermarch, and the leader of that file place himselfe behind the bringer vp of the corner file to that hand, to which the doubling is to be made; and so the rest of the files of eaen numero, behinde those of odde numero; as the second behinde the first, the fourth behinde the third, the sixt behinde the fifth, and so the rest. The word is:

Double your files by countermarch to the right or left hand.

The next word in Aelian is

Double your length.

That is, double your rankes, or front: (For as I before noted, the rankes make the length of the battaile which likewise is many waies done. The first is, when the rankes of eaen appellation, as the 2. 4. 6. 8. &c. fall out into the spaces of the odde, namely, into the spaces of the 1. 3. 5. 7. &c. which stand before them and place themselues eaen with them in ranke. The word is:

Double your rankes to the right or left hand.

Another way is, when the bringers vp (their halfe files following them by

The Tacticks of *Elian*, or

by countermarch) aduance vp to the front, and place themselves in the spaces betwixt the file-leaders to the hand appointed, and the rest of the ranks accordingly, namely, the ninth ranke in the spaces of the second, the eight in the spaces of the third, the seuenth in the fourth, the sixth in the spaces of the fifth. And the word is :

Bringers vp, double your front by countermarch to the right or left hand.

Another is, when the reare-halfe-files, one halfe face to the right, the other to the left hand, and diuiding themselves, march out till they bee paift the flankes of the standing halfe-files : Then facing to the front, sleeve vp and front with the standing halfe-files. Then the word is :

Reare halfe-files, double your front by division to the right and left hand.

Another way is, when the reare-halfe-files vndiuide, face to the hand appointed, and being beyond the flanke of the rest of the body, face to the front and sleeve vp, and ioyne in front with the standing halfe-files. The word is :

Reare halfe-files, enter double your front to the right or left hand.

It is to be obserued, that in all these motions of doubling ranks or front, the fouldiers are to retorne after their motion to their first posture; which is done by facing abou to the right or left hand, and then by mouing, and by recouering their first place. The word is :

As you were.

3 Motion.

Countermarch is the third motion vsed in the change of a battaile. The vs, and necessity thereof appeareth in *Elian* before, and that there are two kindest, one by file, the other by ranke. The words of command that hee setteth downe, are onely of countermarch by file, which may be reduced to two kindest, viz. the Countermarch of the front, and the Countermarch of the reare. That of the front hath likewise two kindest, the Lacedemonian and the Chorean : That of the reare onely one, and it is called the Macedonian Countermarch. Now *Elian* direction followeth.

20 The Lacedemonian Countermarch.

This is one of the Countermarches by file, and of the front. The manner is, that the file-leaders beginne the Countermarch and paift beyond the reare, their files following them. In our exercise the word is :

Countermarch the front to the right or to the left hand.

It is done after another sort also, as when the bringers vp face about to the right or left hand, and then the whole body facing about to the same hand, passe thorow the spaces of the bringers vp to the same hand and the ninth ranke, beginning the rest of the ranks after one anothers, place themselves every particular man before his follower in the same file, till the file-leaders are first. The word is :

Bringers

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Bringers vp face to the right, or to the left hand. The rest beginning at the nimbranke, passe thorow to the fift hand, and place every man himselfe before his follower.

As you were.

In *Elian* followeth :

22 The Macedonian Countermarch.

We in our exercise tearme this Countermarch of the reare, and it is done in two manners: First, when the bringers vp begin the Countermarch, and their files following, passe thorow the spaces of the file-leaders, till the file-leaders become the latte of the file, and then the whole body face about, and stand. The word is :

Countermarch the reare to the right or left hand. Face about to the contrary hand, and stand.

The other when the file-leaders face about to either hand, and the rest of the ranks beginning at the second ranke, successively passe thorow the spaces of the file leaders to the hand appointed, placing themselves every man before his next leader, and facing about as they did. The word is :

File-leaders face about, the rest of the ranks passe thorow, and place yourselves behinde your next leaders.

The next in *Elian* is :

24 The Chorean Countermarch.

This Countermarch is of the front, as I said, but it keepeth the ground, that the body had before the file-leaders (their files following them) remoued to the places of the bringers vp, and the bringers vp to the places that the file-leaders had. The word is :

File-leaders, countermarch to the right or left hand, and stand, viz. when they come to the bringers vp.

Other Countermarches thereare, which are not here set downe by *Elian*, Elian cap. 28. but are remembred in his Chapter of Countermarches; of which the countermarch by ranks of the whole battaile is one, the other is the countermarch by ranks in the parts. And as in the Countermarch of the front or reare, the rankes first began to moue, so in Countermarch of the flankes, the files entrie beginne to moue; and as in the Countermarch of the front or reare, the rankes followed one another by file, so in Countermarch of the flankes, the files follow one another by ranke : that is, the fouldiers of every ranke follow one another. If you would countermarch the right flanke, to change one side of the battaile for the other, the word is :

Countermarch the right flanke to the left hand.

The Tacticks of Aelian, or

In countermarching the left flank, the word is;

Countermarch the left flank to the right hand.

To countermarch the wings into the middest, both the vttermost corner-files are to moue toward the middest, their halfe ranks following them, and meeting in the middest to stand there, and face to the front; and the word is;

Countermarch our wings into the middest of the battaile.

Obtrue, that in Countermarch by ranke, the three Countermarshes Macedonian, Lacedemonian, and Choraan may be practised, as well as in Countermarch by file. If the flank neerest to the enemy begin the Countermarch, this is the Macedonian countermarch, because it maketh a shew of shifing away. If the flank furthest from the enemy begin, it is the Lacedemonian, in that it carrieth a semblance of falling on. But when one flank countermarcheth, till it come full vp to the other, and no furthers; it is the Choraan, because it keepeth the same ground.

The fourth Motion,

Wheeling is the fourth and last motion; and it is vsed in the whole entire battaile, & in the parts thereof. Aelian giueth words of direction for the whole battaile onely, and they are these;

Wheel the body to the Pike, or to the Target.

When the battaile is to wheel to the pike or right hand, the right hand corner file-leader is onely to turne his body by little and little to the right hand, facing even with the ranke of file-leaders, till such time as hee haue gained the right hand aspect; and the rest are to moue about him, making him the centor, as it were, of their circled motion. If to the leit hand, the lett hand corner file leader is to doe the like. The same order is of wheeling the battaile about to the right or left hand, Aelian (as I said) giueth hereno other words of command, then for the wheeling of the whole body, yetare the wheelings of the parts of great vies, for either the flankes are wheeled into the front, or the front into the flankes. The front is wheeled into the flankes, wlen we desire to forme the Antilonus, halang: to rebat the enemy, giuing on both flankes. And then the two middle file-leaders vp are to stand, and the middle file-leaders to diuide themselves, and to moue halfe the battaile to the right, halfe to the left hand, making those two bringers vp the center of the motion. In this the word is;

Wheel the front into flankes by division.

If the flankes be to be wheeled into the front, the two middle file-leaders are to stand still, and the two halfe bodies to moue about them, one to the right hand, the other to the left, till the two flankes be in the front, and the front in the middest. This kind is practised when we would forme the Diphalange Antilonus. The word is;

Wheel

the Art of Embattailing Armies.

Wheel the flankes into the front.

It is to be remembred, that after euery motion a restitution to the first posture is to be commanded in their words; *As you were.*

In facing you are to returne to the contrary hand, as if the command were to face to the right, in returning you come to the left.

In doubling you must doe the like.

In countermarch likewise, whether you countermarch the whole body, or the parcels thereof, you are to returne by the contrary hand.

After wheeling, there ought to be a facing to the same hand first before you returne, and then a returning the contrary way about the same corner file-leader, about whom the motion was first made. This is to be vnderstood of wheeling the whole body.

In wheeling the front into the flankes, after wheeling performed, the body before returning is to face to the Commander, then to returne about the same bringers vp, till all come to be as they were.

In wheeling the flankes into the front, after the wheeling is made, the body is to face likewise to the Commander, then facing about to the right or left hand to return to the first posture about the two middle file-leaders, as about their center.

Hic casus warumque responso.

EFTVS.



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